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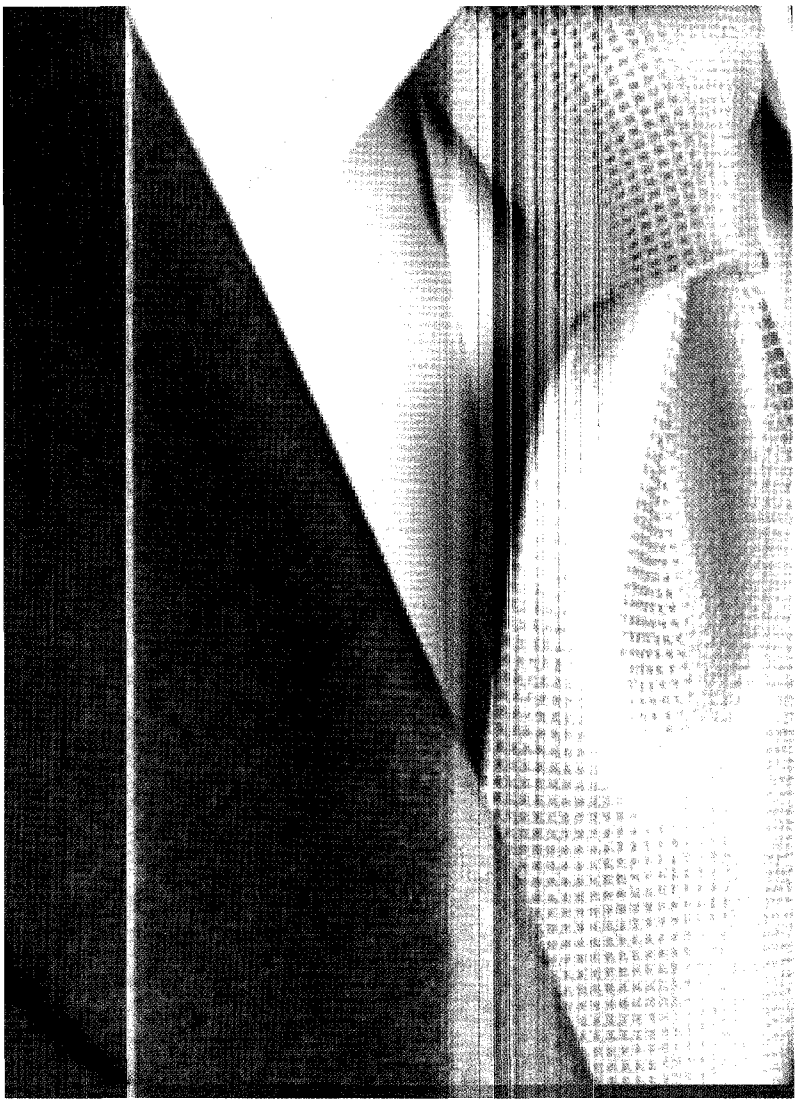

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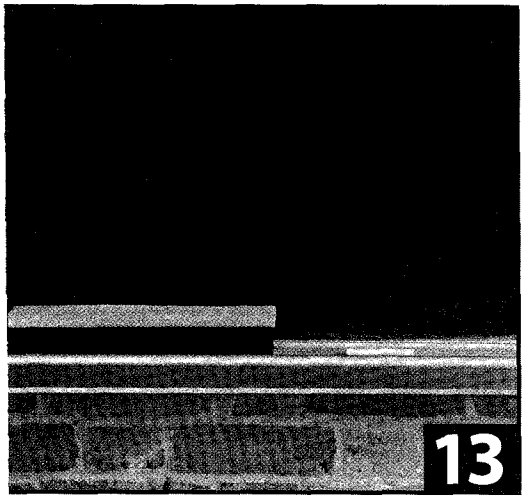

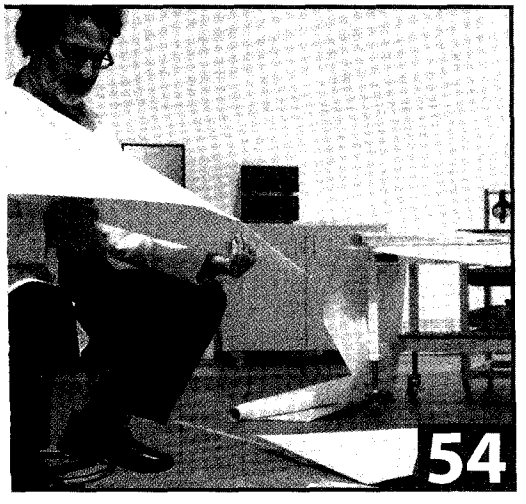

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FRIEND AND COLLEAGUE
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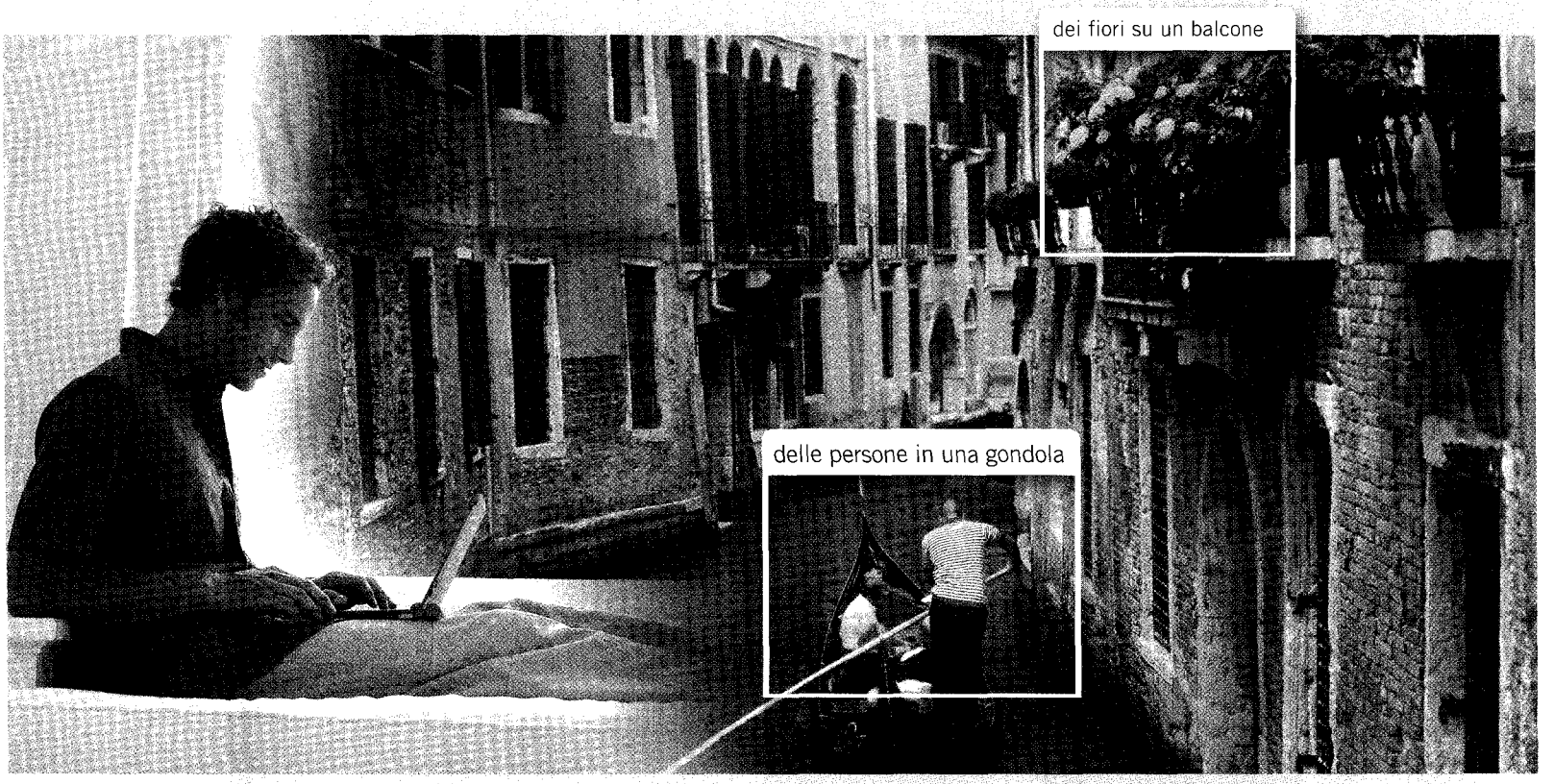

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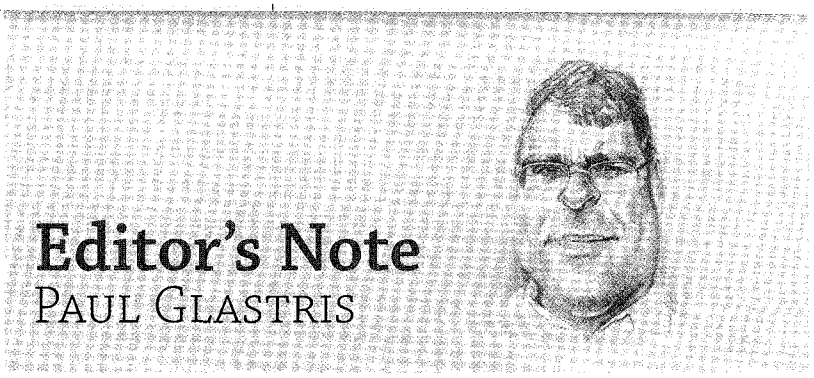

Editor's Note

PAUL GLASTRIS

Bending the Curve

In this issue we proudly present the *Washington Monthly*'s annual College Guide, including our very own College Rankings. As in previous years, our intent is to offer an alternative to *U.S. News & World Report*'s rankings, which we find objectionable for a number of reasons (see "A Different Kind of College Ranking," page 15). Our approach is fundamentally different from *U.S. News* and similar guides: instead of focusing on what colleges can do for you, we ask what colleges are doing for the country—by improving social mobility, producing research, and promoting public service. Want to know how your alma mater stacks up? Check out the rankings—they begin on page 59.

Our ultimate aim is to use this information to change the way people think about colleges and universities, the first step toward changing the institutions themselves. And make no mistake: changes—big changes—are necessary, and they're coming. In the last couple of years Americans have learned the hard way that long-term trends that seem unsustainable often turn out to be just that. Real estate prices cannot climb faster than income year after year without eventually crashing and taking down the economy. Carbon cannot be pumped into the atmosphere indefinitely without inviting environmental catastrophe. Health care costs cannot continually rise faster than GDP without weakening businesses and bankrupting the government.

To this list of dangerously unsustainable trends we must add college costs, which are accelerating upward on a one-way track to ruin. Since 1980, inflation-adjusted tuition at public universities has more than tripled—a steeper cost curve, even, than the health care expenses everyone wants to "bend down." At the very moment that the nation's long-term economic viability depends on our ability to get more students through college, we're making higher education too expensive to buy.

Politicians have not been wholly unresponsive to the pain this is causing students and their parents. President Obama has proposals to reform the federal student loan system and index Pell Grants to inflation, and these proposals are moving through Congress. These are welcome initiatives, but they do nothing to get at the underlying drivers of rising prices. We've spent decades pouring billions of dollars into subsidies and student aid while occasionally suggesting that colleges show some restraint in jacking up tuition. It hasn't worked. It's time to try something new.

If colleges and universities were direct agencies of the government, we could restrain their spending by tightening their budgets. But American higher education isn't structured that way. It's a decentralized, market-based system, with thousands of largely autonomous institutions, private as well as public, competing for the tuition dollars of individual students. Market competition, of course, is supposed to keep a check on prices or drive them down. A big reason that's not happening in higher education is that the consumers have no access to key information: how well different schools teach their students. We know which schools attract students with the highest SAT scores, and which are reputed to be the best based on surveys of college presidents and administrators. *U.S. News* bases its college rankings on such data. But these are measures of prestige, not classroom learning. And without measures of learning—education's primary bottom line—there can be no real market discipline. Instead, colleges can raise prices with relative impunity—and spend the extra money on everything *but* their students' education. They can compete for fame and glory and stick students with the bill.

This problem will not solve itself. Colleges will not unilaterally disarm by releasing information that might damage their reputations. Only the federal government can accomplish that, by mandating the regular disclosure of key data about performance. Not as a means of telling colleges how to educate students—that would be a disaster—but simply telling the world if colleges are educating students well.

Measuring learning is tricky, of course. The human mind is a lot more complicated than a corporation's quarterly net profits. Luckily, our colleges and universities are full of people who have been exquisitely trained to unravel complex phenomena. If we can decode the human genome and figure out what happened in the first milliseconds after the Big Bang, we can arrive at some reasonably accurate estimate of how much various groups of students learn over two or four years, in a way that takes into account the vast diversity of what individual colleges are trying to accomplish and who they enroll. As Ben Wildavsky reports (page 48), there are already efforts under way to do this internationally, and it's in America's interests to join those efforts.

There are also some interesting experiments here at home. Boosted by federal stimulus funds, states are now investing

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hundreds of millions of dollars in data systems that will allow them to analyze what happens to students after they graduate. Which universities are helping students land good, well-paying positions in their field? Which colleges are sending students into socially beneficial jobs like teaching and military service? Soon—in a matter of years, not decades—we will know.

Add to that the vast amount of cheap-and-becoming-cheaper information made possible by the Internet—inexpensive student and alumni surveys, new financial data, detailed feedback from employers; the list goes on—and it's clear we're entering a time of higher education information abundance. Presuming the higher education establishment doesn't cut off the flow of that information, we can use it to give consumers and politicians what they've never had before: a true picture of college quality in all its dimensions and forms.

That, in turn, will make possible the crucial element the higher education market is missing: a measure of *value*, quality divided by price. Right now there's no data to form the numerator of that equation, so people just assume that price and value are one and the same. Thus, they think that low-cost community colleges are for losers who couldn't get in elsewhere, middling public universities are fine if you don't mind being stuck in the hinterlands, and the most elite, wealthy, expensive institutions are where every student should want to go and what every college should want to be. And the only way to enter the elite ranks if you're a college is to grab more money from anywhere you can—from the government, from alumni, and, most of all, from students.

Value measures would allow colleges to do what they can't do now: lower prices without being punished by the market. New competitors would have a level playing field on which to prove their worth, one way or another, rather than waiting decades or longer for their reputation to settle in stone. The public colleges and universities that educate the vast majority of all students could finally be recognized for being great at what they were *meant* to be: institutions that give large numbers of undergraduates a solid education at a reasonable price.

Nowhere is information-based innovation more desperately needed than in community colleges—especially at the remedial level. As Camille Esch reports (page 38), community college remedial courses are the Bermuda Triangle of higher education. Vast numbers of students enter them, and for all practical purposes disappear. Institutional indifference, a paucity of government resources, and a lack of hard data about what works makes improving remedial education a tough proposition. But there are some new rays of hope.

Innovation in higher education is not without risk. Colleges and universities are public institutions serving multiple public ends (some of which we try to measure in our rankings). They are not the same as corporations. Much damage can be done when that fact is forgotten—as Mariah Blake shows in a fascinating story about the rise and decline of Ave Maria School of Law and the role of its founder, Domino's Pizza mogul Tom Monaghan (page 28).

Because they serve multiple public ends, trying to bring needed change to one aspect of higher education risks undermining other aspects. Kevin Carey tells the story (page 19) of a company called StraighterLine that has figured out how to deliver quality introductory college courses online for $99 a month. The good news is that at those prices, almost anyone can afford college. The bad news is that StraighterLine's model could do to higher education what Craigslist did to newspapers: drain off so much revenue that vital but expensive public tasks (reporting, in the case of newspapers; scholarship, in the case of colleges) lose their base of funding.

But the potential threats from innovation in higher education have to be weighed against clear dangers of continuing down the path we're on. If tuition continues to rise faster than incomes, then we're in for a long, crushing era of diminished opportunity. Public attitudes toward higher education will sour, and public funding will be in increasingly short supply. Institutions will become ever more insular and self-obsessed, locked in competition for status markers that increasingly reflect the narcissism of small differences. Foreign students, who have traditionally been cash cows for universities and wellsprings of talent and entrepreneurialism for the country, will find better, cheaper alternatives elsewhere. And tens of thousands of low- and middle-income students for whom higher education means the difference between a hard life and a better one will lose out—at the very time that their country badly needs them to succeed.

We have no illusions about what it will take to get from here to there. The current system serves a lot of established interests well: elite colleges that have been coasting on long-established reputations; unaccountable administrators and faculty; everyone who gets a taste of the tuition dollars that are flowing out of students' wallets at ever growing rates.

For more on our rankings and the latest in higher education reform news, check out our new College Guide Web site, at washingtonmonthly.com

But progress in almost any realm means contending with entrenched interests. And in the end, we think the forces of change, and the arguments for it, will win out. Transparency, opportunity, fair competition—these are American values. As a nation, we've long put a higher premium on education than most. We've been willing to let old institutions fall away and newer, better ones rise. We have steadily, if too slowly, opened the doors of higher education to all. America's future prosperity depends on us holding those doors open for the next generation. WM

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Code read

I read Phillip Longman's article ["Code Red," July/August 2009] with great interest and enjoyment. Among other things, Mr. Longman articulated the concern that the playing field for influence on health IT policy is not level—that advocates of open-source software believe that the traditional vendors of proprietary software have vastly more inside-the-Beltway influence. Ironically, it is entirely possible that Mr. Longman himself has contributed to a similar perception of inequality—there is a sense that VistA advocates have the inside track among open-source IT providers because of the significant presence of VistA sponsors inside the Beltway. I hope that Mr. Longman and *Washington Monthly* readers, as well as Senator Rockefeller and his staff, recognize that embracing the concept of using open-source software for health care information technology does not mean that one automatically adopts VistA (or a VistA-derived system) for a federally sponsored infrastructure, nor does failure to embrace VistA as the solution of choice mean that one has diminished enthusiasm for using open-source software.

Tom Jones, MD
Chief Medical Officer, Tolven Healthcare Innovations
Sonoma, Calif.

Phillip Longman has done it again. His *Washington Monthly* article is spot on, and supports what I've learned myself as a family practice retiree trying to support the use of the VistA operating system in small doctor's offices. I do not think Hippocrates would like the health care system we have created so far in America, but VistA does seem to get the medical software process right.

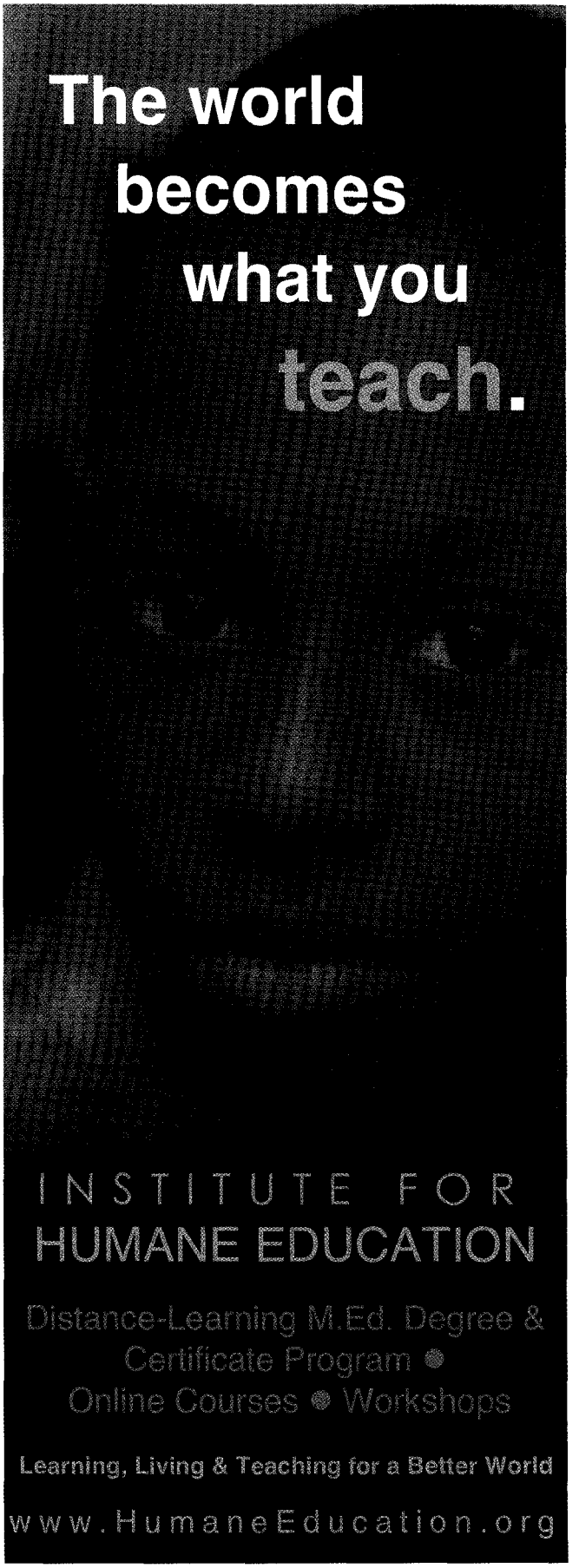
Steve Watson, MD
Via e-mail

Happy to oblige

With the precarious economy, I must tell you that I've dropped several subscriptions to other magazines and newspapers. Not only is it the cost, but it's the time to spend reading everything. However, there's one magazine I can't do without, and I'm e-mailing it right now!

Your latest issue [July/August 2009] was full of great information. I commend Peter Bergen for his insight on Afghanistan ["Winning the Good War"], and I'm glad to see the next issue will contain another whack at college rankings (my alma mater, the University of Idaho, rated surprisingly high in the last report). Keep the great reporting coming!

John Mix
Moscow, Idaho



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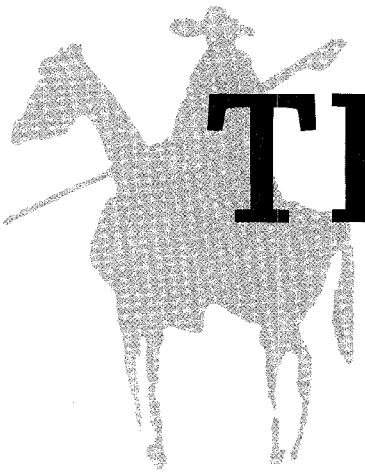

TILTING *at windmills*

By Charles Peters

The essentials

As health care reform gets down to the wire this fall, I hope readers will remember these main ways to reduce costs while improving care:

• Give the government the power to negotiate prices with the drug companies. This could save Medicare a ton of money—the Veterans Administration cut its drug bill in half when given the right to negotiate. The House bill makes this reform, but the *Los Angeles Times* reported that the White House has made a deal with the drug companies' chief lobbyist, Billy Tauzin, not to support the reform. According to the *New York Times*, the White House at first confirmed the deal, but then denied it—sort of. The potential savings of having the government bargain for drug prices are so great that Obama should leave no doubt. He should repudiate the deal. Better to betray Billy Tauzin than to betray the American people.

• Abolish or radically reduce drug advertising. Remember, it was outlawed until relatively recently—and for good reason. Not only does it often obscure dangerous side effects, it encourages people to bug doctors to prescribe drugs either that they don't need or that are the most expensive of the possible therapies. Representative Jerrold Nadler has offered a bill to take away the tax exemption that is now given to drug advertising. And the FDA is proposing regulations that would require drug ads to disclose side effects in an obvious way instead of rapidly reciting them sotto voce over sunny pictures of people happily enjoying the benefits of the drug.

• Encourage doctors to work in Mayo- and Cleveland-type clinics that have doctors working together, and that pay salaries instead of fees for service. Massachusetts, the only state with experience offering near-universal health care, is now being urged by a high-level commission to abolish fee for service, which encourages physicians to recommend services that pay the highest fee, rather than those that are the most needed by the patient.

> I'm beginning to really dislike John Roberts. He was charming and sometimes brilliant during his confirmation hearings. But his decisions have revealed a troubling lack of humanity.

• Don't allow physicians to administer expensive tests in their own offices when that encourages them to order more tests than they ordinarily would. To understand why, consider this anecdote reported by the *Washington Post*'s Shankar Vedantam: "In August 2005, doctors at Urological Associates, a medical practice on the Iowa-Illinois border, ordered nine CT scans for patients covered by Wellmark Blue Cross and Blue Shield insurance. In September that year, they ordered eight. But then the numbers rose steeply. The urologists ordered 35 scans in October, 41 in November and 55 in December. Within seven months they were ordering scans at a rate that had climbed more than 700 percent. The increase came in the months after the urologists bought their own CT scanner."

A saboteur in pundit's clothing

Even though the *Washington Post* reports that Max Baucus "has emerged as a leading recipient of Senate campaign contributions from the hospitals, insurers and other medical interest groups hoping to shape the [health care] legislation to their advantage," MSNBC's Lawrence O'Donnell ardently defends him. My own fear is that the "business-friendly" Baucus will compromise away any chance at meaningful health care reform.

To the best of my knowledge, MSNBC has never disclosed that O'Donnell, who often appears on the network, was as a Senate staffer in 1993 and 1994 one of the more notorious saboteurs of Hillary Clinton's health reform efforts.

It's the redeployments, stupid

Soldier suicide has become such a problem that we now have an Army Suicide Prevention Task Force. The *Washington Post* recently published an editorial deploring the problem, and proclaiming, "Deterrents should be encouraged." The

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editorial concluded by saying, "What factors contributed to such an increase remain to be seen." The editorial writer should have pondered his previous sentence a little bit longer. It says, "In the Army alone, the number of suicides has doubled since 2004." To me, the implication is clear: 2004 was when soldiers in Iraq began to realize that they were going to have to return. Since then the suicide rate has steadily increased, as they have to go back again and again, experiencing the stress caused by prolonged exposure to danger.

Yet all the Army can offer them is the hope, recently voiced by Secretary of Defense Robert Gates, that "we can begin moving toward a year at home, 15 months' to 18 months' dwell time." According to the *Washington Post*'s Walter Pincus, "The goal, Gates said, is one to two years at a time at home, 'as quickly as possible.'" Gates added, "I mean, the truth of the matter is there's about a third of the Army that's never deployed at all. But that's just the way it is, frankly, given the different specialized capabilities of the different units." I don't accept that it has to be that way. We can get out of Iraq now. Greg Jaffe, one of the best reporters of the war at the *Post*, recently wrote that "the Iraqis don't really need or want American forces around anymore."

Avoiding collateral damage

The plan was for the CIA to train small teams that could hunt, kill, or otherwise thwart al-Qaeda operatives. It was canceled in June by Leon Panetta, who was upset that he and the Congress hadn't been told about it. I'm sorry. I thought it was a very good idea. It's better to be precise in our targets, killing only al-Qaeda, and not the innocent people who all too often suffer the "collateral damage" of drone and other air attacks—not to mention that precise targeting could eliminate the need to send a large army after al-Qaeda. And if it is bad not to tell Panetta and Congress, it was even worse for the CIA bureaucrats to have done so little in six years to implement such a needed program. One of the agency's greatest problems, next only to its long-time foot dragging on language learning, has been its extreme reluctance to take on risky missions.

In his spy novels, the *Post* columnist David Ignatius is brutally frank about the CIA's failings. For example, his most recent novel, *The Increment*, describes an Iranian nuclear scientist who is willing to spill the beans, but the CIA doesn't have the ability to extricate him. It doesn't have the personnel capable of that kind of mission. Instead, they have to rely on a British team to get the scientist out.

Roberts's Rules

I'm beginning to really dislike Chief Justice John Roberts. He seemed charming and sometimes brilliant during his confirmation hearings. But his decisions have revealed a troubling lack of humanity. Consider his recent opinion rejecting a right to DNA tests that could prove the innocence of prison inmates. We now have enough experience with DNA testing to know that it has proved 241 convicts were not guilty of the crimes for which they were imprisoned.

Unfortunately, three states do not require DNA testing at all, and others limit its use. That's why we needed action by the Supreme Court making the requirement mandatory throughout the country.

In the case before the court, the plaintiff, William G. Osborne, even offered to have the test done at his own expense. But Roberts said no, concluding that it was up to the state to change its own laws, putting states' rights ahead of human rights and displaying a cold, cold heart.

Limbaugh's lunatics and those with less excuse

The health care fight has brought out the brainless, not only in the general public but in the media as well. Limbaugh's lunatics have been shouting down members of Congress who have been attempting to discuss health care in town meetings in their districts. We can forgive some of them—innocents who have been misled by lies from the insurance industry, Limbaugh, and other Republicans.

But the media should know better. Newspapers and networks have been citing as authoritative a study by the Lewin Group that said the health care program's public option would cause 100 million out of 160 million to be forced from private insurance into the public plan. None of these reports mentioned that the Lewin Group is funded by an insurance company, United Health Group—that is, until the Congressional Budget Office said the Lewin Group study was wrong. And then at last Jennifer Haberkorn and S. A. Miller of the *Washington Times* reported that the Lewin Group was "owned by an insurance company."

The health care fight has brought out the brainless, not only in the general public but in the media as well.

Smart but wrong, part 1

The *Washington Post*'s Howard Kurtz is a smart fellow, but he writes a column complaining that Obama's July press conference about health care wasn't news, and questioning whether the networks should have run it.

Obama was answering reporters' questions that represented questions on the minds of the public about an important issue, trying to explain his health care program to the American people. Some of Franklin Roosevelt's greatest fireside chats were not designed to make news, but to explain. Were the networks wrong to run them? I don't think so.

Smart but wrong, part 2

Chris Matthews and Chuck Todd are also smart—super-smart—about politics, but maybe not so swift about substance. After the conference, Matthews complained that Obama hadn't

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done a good job of explaining. But I think Matthews just didn't do a good job of listening. He implied that he wouldn't be able to get the medical tests he needed, when all Obama had said was that we shouldn't pay for having the same tests repeated by different doctors. Todd later said Obama had "promised" not to raise your taxes if you made less than a million dollars. I can't find any record of such a promise by Obama at any time.

How will it play in Vail?

Did you notice how quickly Nancy Pelosi retreated from a proposal to finance health care reform by raising couples' taxes on incomes over $500,000, and instead embraced $1 million as the income at which the tax would kick in? Could that have anything to do with the fact that she represents disproportionately rich San Francisco? Whatever Pelosi's motivation may be, Democratic members from other wealthy districts have also repudiated the $500,000 threshold for couples as well as the $350,000 one for individuals. They include Gerry Connolly, from the richest district in the United States, which happens to be in the lobbyist and government contractor haven of northern Virginia, and Colorado's Jared Polis, who represents Boulder, Vail, and what the *Wall Street Journal's* Jonathan Weisman describes as "the tonier suburbs of Denver."

To what extent have the Democrats become the new party of the rich? The answer, I think, will prove to be key to the success of both real health care reform and deficit reduction. Neither is going to happen without our more affluent citizens paying more taxes than they do now.

Politicians from wealthy districts are not the only obstacles. The big-time journalists who work for major newspapers and networks now have, as I've been pointing out a lot recently, attained incomes that alone or combined with their spouses' exceed the $250,000 threshold Obama established as the point where any of his tax increases would begin. Few of the reports we've been getting from the large newspapers and networks support tax increases that would affect them. For example, Jackie Calmes of the *New York Times* recently wrote an article headlined, "Obama's pledge to tax only the rich can't pay for everything, analysts say," in which she implicitly accepts the argument that a top tax rate of 45 percent would not be acceptable.

But our greatest prosperity has come in periods when the top tax rates have been 70 percent or more. In 1948, we had a combination of low unemployment, low inflation, and low military budgets with a top tax rate of 82 percent. Unemployment that year actually fell beneath 4 percent, as indeed it has four other times since World War II. In each case the tax rate was 70 percent or higher. The last time unemployment fell as low as 4 percent was under Bill Clinton, when tax rates were considerably higher than they are now, and the deficit was plummeting instead of soaring.

> Opponents of higher taxes on the rich don't seem to realize that since World War II, we've had our lowest unemployment when the top tax rate was 70 percent or more.

Only bilingual applicants need apply

Good news for all of you who can't stand bureaucratese. A Senate committee has passed a bill that requires federal agencies, in the words of the *Washington Post's* Joe Davidson, "to write their job announcements in plain language rather than the dense government jargon so common in this town." The Obama administration's Office of Personnel Management has already been trying to clarify job announcements. This reform is badly needed. Qualified potential applicants have been prevented from learning about suitable job openings because the nature of the job has been so obscured by government gobbledegook, either because the civil servants who write the announcements have been brainwashed by reading too many memorandums, or because the civil servant wants to hide the job from outsiders so it can be given to a pal.

But I didn't guess the part about the kidney-smuggling rabbis

Several years ago, I tried to guess what headlines would appear in newspapers fifty or a hundred years from now. I may have been overly optimistic that newspapers would exist then. But anyway, here's one of the headlines I came up with: "Corruption alleged in New Jersey." Of course, I can't resist seizing the moment to recognize my prescience. But more seriously, how could a culture of corruption become so thoroughly entrenched in New Jersey? The same is also true of several other states: Louisiana, Illinois, West Virginia. I hope someone will write a book exploring how states that seem so different could be so similar in the dedication of public officials to lining their pockets illicitly.

Sick of credit swaps? You'll love these natural gas futures!

Many people have been outraged to discover Citigroup's plans to give a bonus of $100 million to one man: Andrew J. Hall. To those who are indignant that Citigroup is using part of the $45 billion bailout we gave it to pay such a large bonus, Citigroup replies that Hall has netted the company about $2 billion in the last five years.

I am disturbed less by the amount of the bonus than by how Hall made the $2 billion. He was "trading" in the en-

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Wartburg is committed to community service

"Wartburg is passionate about providing an education for students that is engaging and meaningful."

— Dr. Daniel Kittle, director
Wartburg's Center for Community Engagement

- When floodwaters inundated Waverly, Iowa, in June 2008, the city designated Wartburg's CCE to coordinate relief efforts. The college later received the key to the city and a Governor's Volunteer Award. "I don't know where we would have been without Wartburg College," said Mayor Ike Ackerman.
- Wartburg students Abhay Napiduram and Rachel Coleman received a $10,000 Davis Projects for Peace grant to help the AmerIndians of Guyana in South America make bed nets to fight malaria.
- Wartburg received a $5,000 Jenzabar Foundation grant for the Feed My Starving Children program with 1,100 volunteers packing 185,000 meals.
- Wartburg is one of five colleges to be honored for community service by the Washington Center.

Abhay Napiduram

Rachel Coleman

Wartburg students initiated and led 20 service trips across the nation during break periods. Among the service projects in 2008-09:

- Working with inpatient children at a Little Rock hospital
- Doing post-hurricane cleanup and construction in New Orleans and Galveston
- Assisting people with disabilities in Pensacola, Fla., and Happy, Texas
- Improving the natural habitat of the Northern California redwoods, the Colorado Plateau in Moab, Utah, and along the Appalachian Trail
- Building homes, doing renovation in Kincaid, W.Va., and Monessen, Pa.
- Addressing poverty issues in Detroit and East St. Louis

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ergy market. He may well have played a role in last year's horrific run-up in gas prices, and in the continuing and unsettling price swings in the energy markets. Even more disturbing—much more disturbing—is that the bank was trading in energy futures, speculating on whether the price would go up or down. Isn't that the very kind of risky practice that led to last year's financial meltdown? Is that kind of trading ever a proper role for a bank?

It's the other guy

When Nationwide Insurance asked a sample of 1,503 drivers, "Have you ever talked on your cell phone while driving?" 81.3 percent answered yes. When the researchers asked, "Do you consider yourself to be a safe driver?" 98 percent answered yes.

Yet when they were given a list of distracting activities, and asked, "Which of the following do you feel is the MOST dangerous distraction for people while driving?" by far the greater number—48 percent, as against 18 percent for the next most distracting—chose "Using technology like a cell phone or e-mail or electronic device."

In other words, using a cell phone while driving is a terrible idea—unless I'm doing it.

OMG!!!! need pickup @ hospital r u free?

Another recent *New York Times* story tells of a similar study done by Virginia Tech of the danger of texting while driving heavy vehicles or trucks. The Tech study found the risk of accidents increased twenty-three times when the driver was texting. Fox News displayed its dedication to accuracy by reporting on its news ticker that the increase was 23 *percent*.

The Clinton tapes

After devoting two years to playing a crucial role in establishing the identity of the *Washington Monthly*, Taylor Branch left in August of 1972 to go to Austin, Texas. There he joined a young couple from Arkansas, Bill and Hillary Clinton, on one of the more quixotic endeavors of the era—trying to persuade conservative Texans to vote for the very liberal George McGovern.

Although that effort met its predictable fate in November, the three had become friends in the meantime. Then they went their separate ways; the Clintons returned to Arkansas, where their political efforts would meet with greater success, and Branch came back to Washington, where he became the Washington editor of *Harper's*.

They got together again in December 1992, twenty years later, after Branch had published *Parting the Waters*, the first volume of his landmark biography of Martin Luther King Jr., and Bill Clinton had been elected president of the United States. The old friendship quickly resumed, now reinforced by mutual self-interest—Branch's in gaining access to a president, and Clinton's in the credibility he could gain from Taylor's reputation as a journalist and historian. By January 1993, Taylor was helping to write Clinton's first inaugural address. Soon, Bill was seeking Taylor's advice on how to preserve the history of his administration. They came up with the idea of taping informal interviews Taylor would conduct with the president. And they stuck to the plan, averaging more than eight sessions a year throughout the Clinton presidency.

> Taylor Branch is on the whole admiring of Clinton and his presidency, but he sees Clinton's tragic flaw: self-pity.

The result is Branch's new book, *The Clinton Tapes: Wrestling History With the President*. It is totally fascinating, taking you not only inside the White House, but inside Bill Clinton's mind at one critical moment after another. Taylor proves a sympathetic friend, on the whole admiring of Clinton and his presidency. But he sees Clinton's tragic flaw: self-pity.

Of the Lewinsky affair, Clinton says, "I think I just cracked." Taylor explains: "He felt sorry for himself. When this thing started with Lewinsky in 1995, he had gone through a lot of people dying, his mother, Vince Foster, Rabin—plus the mean-spirited investigations of him and Hillary and everybody else. Oh, and they ran over him with the 'Contract with America,' and took the Congress. He just cracked. He said he could've done worse. He could've blown something up."

Only Bill Clinton could conclude that we should be grateful that he didn't do something worse. Still, if any president is ever entitled to self-pity, Clinton is that man. The Whitewater scandal, unforgivably hyped by the *New York Times*, turned out to be a total nonstarter. Even the obsessive Ken Starr could not find a single indictable offense involving Whitewater of which Clinton was guilty.

Branch concludes, "The great sadness for me is that [Clinton] had come so close to proving all the scandals baseless. Now Lewinsky alone vindicated the cynicism." He reproaches Clinton, "You let them off just when their accounting was finally due."

Clinton's effort to seduce Branch with flattery and kindness and Taylor's effort to resist provide an intriguing subplot. One has to suspect flattery as a motive for at least several of the many times that Clinton solicited Taylor's counsel, but there were definitely more than a few times when his interest in the advice was, like his kindness, sincere. (I can remember seeking Taylor's opinion when he was only twenty-two years old.) In one case, Taylor's advice may have affected history. On the issue of whether to send troops to Haiti to reinstate Aristide, Clinton's advisers were sharply divided, with both Hillary and Colin Powell strongly against. Taylor may well have provided the tipping point with his passionate advocacy of Aristide's cause. WM

Charles Peters is the founding editor of the *Washington Monthly*.

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Introduction: A Different Kind of College Ranking

By the Editors

In the space of a little more than a week this past June, two university presidents revealed just how cynical they're willing to be.

First, Clemson University President James F. Barker admitted to rating Clemson as the single greatest university in America—better than Harvard, Yale, or any other—when he filled out the reputational survey that drives the annual *U.S. News & World Report* college rankings. Soon after, a newspaper investigation uncovered similar shenanigans at the University of Florida, where President Bernie Machen ranked his institution as equal to the Ivies while downgrading all other public institutions in Florida as mediocre at best.

Some see these episodes as further evidence for abolishing college rankings altogether. We disagree. Dishonesty and bad behavior in the face of public scrutiny is understandable but never excusable. Students paying large and ever-growing amounts of money to attend college need comparative information to help them make smart choices. When colleges object to rankings *in principle*, they're really just looking to avoid accountability and healthy competition. *U.S. News* has the right idea—they're just using the wrong data, ranking colleges with crude, easily manipulated measures like alumni giving rates, class size, and that vague survey of reputation. It's good that university presidents care enough about rankings to lie so shamelessly. We just need rankings that create incentives for presidents to actually improve their institutions, rather than pretend to.

Higher education, moreover, isn't something that only seventeen-year-olds and their parents need to worry about. In the information age, we all depend on colleges and universities to produce groundbreaking research and new inventions, to serve as engines of social mobility for first-generation college students, and to mold the minds of future leaders. And we all pay for it—colleges receive enormous amounts of public money through direct subsidies and tax breaks every year. In other words, we need more than just good college rankings for prospective students—we need good college rankings for everyone else.

And that's what the *Washington Monthly* College Rankings aim to provide: a measure of not just what colleges can do for you, but what colleges are doing for the country. To compile the list, we gathered reams of publicly available data and settled on three criteria: social mobility, research, and service. In our eyes, America's best colleges are those that work hardest to help economically disadvantaged students earn the credentials that the job market demands. They're the institutions that contribute new scientific discoveries and highly trained PhDs. They're the colleges that emphasize the obligations students have to serve their communities and the nation at large.

For more on our rankings and the latest in higher education reform news, check out our new College Guide Web site, at washingtonmonthly.com

From that perspective, higher education excellence starts to take on a very different meaning than what the status- and money-obsessed institutions that routinely round out the top of the *U.S. News* list represent. In fact, only one of the *U.S. News* top ten—Stanford—makes our top ten, while some of our highest-ranked schools are buried by *U.S. News* in the magazine's lowest tiers.

Here are some of the biggest standouts and surprises from our 2009 rankings:

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TOP 30
NATIONAL UNIVERSITIES

		RANK IN *U.S. NEWS* (2009)
1.	**UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA—BERKELEY**	**21**
2.	Univ. of California—San Diego	35
3.	Univ. of California—Los Angeles	25
4.	Stanford University	4
5.	Texas A&M U.—Col. Station	64
6.	South Carolina State University	*
7.	Pennsylvania State U.—University Park	47
8.	College of William and Mary	32
9.	University of Texas—Austin	47
10.	University of California—Davis	44
11.	Harvard University	1
12.	Massachusetts Inst. of Technology	4
13.	University of Chicago	8
14.	University of Washington	41
15.	Case Western Reserve Univ.	41
16.	Univ. of California—Riverside	89
17.	Cornell University	14
18.	University of Michigan—Ann Arbor	26
19.	University of Notre Dame	18
20.	Ohio State Univ.—Columbus	56
21.	Univ. of California—Santa Barbara	44
22.	Jackson State University	*
23.	Yale University	3
24.	U. of Illinois—Urbana-Champaign	40
25.	Johns Hopkins University	15
26.	University of Virginia	23
27.	Utah State University	*
28.	Princeton University	2
29.	California Institute of Technology	6
30.	Univ. of Wisconsin—Madison	35

Public Virtue, Private Shame

All of the top twenty *U.S. News* universities are private, as are nearly all the top colleges. But by our reckoning, public universities deserve a lot more credit than they're getting—thirteen of our top twenty universities are taxpayer funded. The University of California system in particular stands out, grabbing the top three spots—including number-one-ranked Berkeley—and six of the top twenty-five. UC campuses enroll unusually large numbers of low-income students while maintaining high graduation rates, generating billions of dollars in research funding, and sending a healthy number of students into service programs like the Peace Corps. Tragically, steep budget cuts stemming from the current California budget fiasco are putting all of that at risk.

On the flip side, allegedly world-class private institutions like Princeton, Duke, and Penn fail to crack our top twenty-five, coming in at number twenty-eight, thirty-three, and fifty-nine, respectively. They were all beaten out by South Carolina State University, where 71 percent of students qualify for Pell Grants and an uncommonly large number participate in the Reserve Officers' Training Corps. Most of the Ivy League won't even let ROTC on campus—a principle with which we (and President Obama) disagree. Jackson State University in Mississippi ranks a spot before Yale on our list, just as Utah State sits above Princeton. These public universities do a lot more than enroll a few token poor students while greasing the skids for the children of privilege.

Sisters and Brothers

There are only a handful of women's colleges in America, but according to our rankings they play an outsized role in contributing to the public good. Mount Holyoke comes in at number two, a full twenty-five spots above its *U.S. News* ranking, followed quickly by Smith College at number six, Bryn Mawr at number seven, and Wellesley at number ten.

Other institutions that have a mission to serve underrepresented students stand out. Two historically black institutions in Atlanta, Spelman and Morehouse, make a strong showing on our list. *U.S. News* sticks minority-serving colleges like Louisiana's Dillard University and Tennessee's Fisk University in its lowly "third tier" because they're not rich and exclusive. We rank them in our top fifty precisely because they enroll many low-income students and—relative to other colleges with similar student profiles—help many of them earn degrees. That's also why Berea College—a small institution in Kentucky founded by abolitionists as an integrated, coeducational college that charges no tuition and is dedicated to helping first-generation college students—does so well in our eyes.

Self-service

Clemson, meanwhile, is stuck all the way down at number 116 on our ranking. While President Barker has been busy pursuing his publicly announced goal of cracking the *U.S. News* ranking of the top twenty public universities by cooking the financial books and denigrating the competition, he's done nothing to improve the university's poor record in promoting social mobility (14 percent of students qualify for Pell Grants). According to the Center for Measuring University Performance, less than one-tenth of 1 percent of the Clemson faculty received prestigious awards in their field, an amount that doesn't even crack the top 200. (That's also about the proportion of Clemson students who enter the Peace Corps.) Less than 12 percent of Clemson's federal work-study dollars are spent on community service projects, well below the national

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average. Clemson's relentless pursuit of status seems to have come at the expense of helping students and society at large.

And Clemson isn't alone. Since 2001, Northeastern University in Boston has jumped more than fifty spots in the *U.S. News* rankings, recently breaking into the top 100. We rank it number 236 out of 258. Washington University in St. Louis is famous in higher education circles for aggressive marketing tactics, driving up applications and bringing it all the way to number twelve on the *U.S. News* list. Our ranking tells a different story—Wash U is number ninety-nine and dropping from previous years. Some institutions are trying hard to help others—and some are in it for themselves.

A Better Measure of Excellence

It's clear from the exploits of these bad actors that rankings matter—indeed, they're among the few proven ways to influence the behavior of the nation's famously independent colleges and universities. By giving credit where it's due to colleges that are truly fulfilling their public obligations, we hope to make life a little easier for college leaders who are trying to do the right thing—and to give elected officials reasons to reward those deserving campuses with more public funding and support. We also want to give college presidents a reason to think twice before selling their soul for a few spots on the *U.S. News* list.

And in the long run, we'd love to be able to make our rankings better still. While we stand behind the social mobility, research, and service measures, we want to add even more, particularly with respect to the single most important thing colleges do: helping students learn. Remarkably, colleges report virtually no useful, comparable information about teaching practices or how much students learn between the time they arrive as freshmen and leave as seniors. It's not that such data don't exist—when we published our first college rankings in 2005, we noted that hundreds of universities participate in the National Survey of Student Engagement, which measures things like the number of books and papers student are assigned, student-faculty interaction, and the overall campus environment. A year later we wrote about the Collegiate Learning Assessment, the results of which prove that the most learning sometimes happens at the least selective colleges. But data from both assessments continue to be held close by universities, which only report them if and when they choose.

There are, however, positive signs from the Obama administration, including a push for legislation that would require colleges to report data like graduation rates for Pell Grant recipients (another measure we called for four years ago), how much students earn after college, and whether they land a good job. This type of transparency will be key to understanding which colleges really serve the public interest—and giving others a reason to follow their lead.

Imagine how things would change if such measures were added to our service, research, and social mobility ratings, and colleges began working night and day to boost their standing on the *Washington Monthly* rankings instead of those published by *U.S. News*. They would provide more financial aid to needy students, rather than—as is increasingly the case—throwing money at wealthy students with high SATs. They'd invest in counseling to help more students graduate and then encourage those students to give back once they earn their degree. They'd change the way they hire and promote professors, so teaching would matter just as much as scholarship. And they'd focus more intently on producing the breakthroughs and scientists our economy needs.

The result would be a more democratic, equitable, and prosperous nation, a place where the interests of colleges, students, and society are, finally, one and the same. WM

TOP 30 LIBERAL ARTS COLLEGES

		RANK IN *U.S. NEWS* (2009)
1.	**AMHERST COLLEGE**	1
2.	Mount Holyoke College	27
3.	Williams College	1
4.	Harvey Mudd College	14
5.	Haverford College	10
6.	Smith College	18
7.	Bryn Mawr College	23
8.	Swarthmore College	3
9.	Carleton College	8
10.	Wellesley College	4
11.	Wesleyan University	13
12.	Berea College	68
13.	Whitman College	37
14.	Morehouse College	*
15.	Wheaton College	56
16.	Reed College	54
17.	Oberlin College	20
18.	St. John's University	71
19.	Macalester College	25
20.	Grinnell College	14
21.	Spelman College	77
22.	Bowdoin College	6
23.	Middlebury College	5
24.	Barnard College	27
25.	Vassar College	11
26.	Presbyterian College	104
27.	Ripon College	*
28.	Agnes Scott College	60
29.	Furman University	37
30.	Willamette University	60

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A NOTE ON TEACH FOR AMERICA

By Erin Dillon

In its 2006 college guide, the *Washington Monthly* reported on the incredible growth of Teach for America, the program that recruits top graduating seniors for two-year stints in low-income, low-performing schools across the country. With an acceptance rate so low that it rivals the most competitive colleges, the organization had made TFA a coveted credential—and teaching a popular profession—among students graduating from the most prestigious universities in the country. TFA, the article said, had "turned national service into a status symbol."

Three years later, TFA is thriving. With Wall Street no longer offering absurdly high-paying investment banking jobs to twenty-one-year-old Yale graduates, applications to the program are way up. In 2009, 11 percent of all Ivy League seniors applied to be a corps member, and TFA was the number one employer at schools like Georgetown University, Spelman College, and the University of Chicago. The program's size has swelled from 2,400 corps members in 2006 to 4,100 would-be teachers in 2009, a 70 percent increase.

TFA has also broadened its recruiting beyond the elite schools it started out with. Among this year's *Washington Monthly* College Guide institutions, 46 percent of the liberal arts colleges and 74 percent of the universities contributed at least one TFA member. TFA has also focused on increasing the racial and socioeconomic diversity of its members, and recruits heavily from historically black colleges and universities and Hispanic-serving institutions.

Despite its broadening reach, though, TFA remains, by design, an institution focused on recruiting the best and the brightest. Its participation rates among colleges and universities are significantly driven by which institutions it decides to invest in with on-campus recruiters and marketing to students. For this reason, the *Washington Monthly* has never included TFA service in its overall service rankings, and we didn't this year, either. Our rankings aim to tease out the decisions the institutions *themselves* make to promote public service. Including TFA would disadvantage schools with a strong service commitment but lacking the TFA corps' 1300-plus average SAT score.

Still, we didn't want to completely ignore the admirable service commitment made by TFA corps members. So we calculated the rankings again, this time with TFA participation added in.

Many of the Ivy League and other elite institutions in our rankings score relatively low in other service measures, hurting their overall rankings. But when TFA participation is added, these institutions jump to the top. Yale, for example, has no ROTC members on its campus, but has one of the highest rates of participation in TFA. With TFA included, Yale moves from twenty-third to fifth in the rankings. The same story is true for other elite institutions—Harvard, Princeton, Duke, and the University of Chicago all move into the top ten once TFA is included, pushing out many of our top public universities.

Among liberal arts colleges, adding TFA creates a slightly different impact. Our top colleges stay pretty much the same, with a few exceptions: Berea College, a small institution with a mission to serve first-generation, low-income students, moves into the top ten thanks to the four graduates who joined TFA. Spelman College, where 25 percent of the class of 2009 applied to TFA, moves from twenty-first to thirteenth in the rankings. Other women's colleges also do better when TFA is added in—Scripps College, Mount Holyoke College, and Wellesley College all move up with TFA included.

While TFA's focus on recruiting high-performing students from elite institutions may exclude them from our rankings, the immense impact of the organization shouldn't be ignored. Teach for America has changed the face of national service by providing a way for our sharpest and most ambitious students to enhance their resumes while giving something back to their country. WM

Erin Dillon is a senior policy analyst at Education Sector, an independent think tank in Washington, D.C. She compiled the data for this year's college rankings.

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Amy Guip

College for $99 a Month

THE NEXT GENERATION OF ONLINE EDUCATION COULD BE GREAT FOR STUDENTS—AND CATASTROPHIC FOR UNIVERSITIES.

By Kevin Carey

Like millions of other Americans, Barbara Solvig lost her job this year. A fifty-year-old mother of three, Solvig had taken college courses at Northeastern Illinois University years ago, but never earned a degree. Ever since, she had been forced to settle for less money than coworkers with similar jobs who had bachelor's degrees. So when she was laid off from a human resources position at a Chicago-area hospital in January, she knew the time had come to finally get her own credential. Doing that wasn't going to be easy, because four-year degrees typically require two luxuries Solvig didn't have: years of time out of the workforce, and a great deal of money.

Luckily for Solvig, there were new options available. She went online looking for something that fit her wallet and her time horizon, and an ad caught her eye: a company called StraighterLine was offering online courses in subjects like accounting, statistics, and math. This was hardly unusual—hundreds of institutions are online hawking degrees. But one thing about StraighterLine stood out: it offered as many courses as she wanted for a flat rate of $99 a month. "It sounds like a scam," Solvig thought—she'd run into a lot of shady companies and hard-sell tactics on the Internet. But for $99, why not take a risk?

Solvig threw herself into the work, studying up to eighteen hours a day. And contrary to expectations, the courses turned out to be just what she was looking for. Every morning she would sit down at her kitchen table and log on to a Web site where she could access course materials, read text, watch videos, listen to podcasts, work through problem sets, and take exams. Online study groups were available where she could collaborate with other students via listserv and instant messaging. StraighterLine courses were designed and overseen by professors with PhDs, and she was assigned a course adviser who was available by

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e-mail. And if Solvig got stuck and needed help, real live tutors were available at any time, day or night, just a mouse click away.

Crucially for Solvig—who needed to get back into the workforce as soon as possible—StraighterLine let students move through courses as quickly or slowly as they chose. Once a course was finished, Solvig could move on to the next one, without paying more. In less than two months, she had finished four complete courses, for less than $200 total. The same courses would have cost her over $2,700 at Northeastern Illinois, $4,200 at Kaplan University, $6,300 at the University of Phoenix, and roughly the gross domestic product of a small Central American nation at an elite private university. They also would have taken two or three times as long to complete.

And if Solvig needed any further proof that her online education was the real deal, she found it when her daughter came home from a local community college one day, complaining about her math course. When Solvig looked at the course materials, she realized that her daughter was using exactly the same learning modules that she was using at StraighterLine, both developed by textbook giant McGraw-Hill. The only difference was that her daughter was paying a lot more for them, and could only take them on the college's schedule. And while she had a professor, he wasn't doing much teaching. "He just stands there," Solvig's daughter said, while students worked through modules on their own.

Colleges are caught in the same kind of debt-fueled price spiral that just blew up the real estate market. They're also in the information business at a time when technology is driving down the cost of selling information to record, destabilizing lows.

StraighterLine is the brainchild of a man named Burck Smith, an Internet entrepreneur bent on altering the DNA of higher education as we have known it for the better part of 500 years. Rather than students being tethered to ivy-covered quads or an anonymous commuter campus, Smith envisions a world where they can seamlessly assemble credits and degrees from multiple online providers, each specializing in certain subjects and—most importantly—fiercely competing on price. Smith himself may be the person who revolutionizes the university, or he may not be. But someone with the means and vision to fundamentally reorder the way students experience and pay for higher education is bound to emerge.

In recent years, Americans have grown accustomed to living amid the smoking wreckage of various once-proud industries—automakers bankrupt, brand-name Wall Street banks in ruins, newspapers dying by the dozen. It's tempting in such circumstances to take comfort in the seeming permanency of our colleges and universities, in the notion that our world-beating higher education system will reliably produce research and knowledge workers for decades to come. But this is an illusion. Colleges are caught in the same kind of debt-fueled price spiral that just blew up the real estate market. They're also in the information business in a time when technology is driving down the cost of selling information to record, destabilizing lows.

In combination, these two trends threaten to shake the foundation of the modern university, in much the same way that other seemingly impregnable institutions have been torn apart. In some ways, the upheaval will be a welcome one. Students will benefit enormously from radically lower prices—particularly people like Solvig who lack disposable income and need higher learning to compete in an ever-more treacherous economy. But these huge changes will also seriously threaten the ability of universities to provide all the things beyond teaching on which society depends: science, culture, the transmission of our civilization from one generation to the next.

Whether this transformation is a good or a bad thing is something of a moot point—it's coming, and sooner than you think.

I met Burck Smith in his office on L Street in downtown Washington, D.C., in the spring of 2008. Thirty-nine years old, with degrees from Williams and Harvard, Smith looks remarkably like what you'd expect an Ivy League alum named "Burck Smith" to look like: Michael-Lewis-minus-ten-years handsome, open-collar shirts and sport coats, the relaxed confidence of privilege. He talked like someone who'd seen the future and was determined to be there when it arrived.

Smith was full of optimism about StraighterLine, which he planned to debut in September of that year. It would be the realization of an idea he'd been dreaming about since he was a graduate student at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government in the late 1990s. In 1999, after finishing his master's degree, Smith wrote a "looking back from the future" article, set in a hypothetical 2015. By that time, the higher education landscape would look "dramatically different than it did at the turn of the millennium," he predicted.

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Technological change was the spark that ignited the wildfire of change. Like a hole in a dike, cheap and instantaneous Internet-based content delivery and communication nibbled away at barriers to institutional competition. . . . Suddenly, a student seeking an introductory statistics course could choose from hundreds of online courses from anywhere in the world. . . . Feeling the effects of low-cost competition, site-based education providers started cutting course costs and prices to attract students.

That same year, Smith took the first steps toward achieving this vision, launching an Internet startup company called Smarthinking, which he cofounded with Christopher Gergen, the son of well-known Washington insider David Gergen. Smarthinking provided on-demand, one-on-one tutoring in a range of introductory college courses, twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. The tutors, people with bachelor's and master's degrees in their fields, communicated with students via computer, using an on-screen, interactive "whiteboard." Math students typed in questions, graphed equations, and interacted with their tutors in real time from their own PCs. Writing tutors gave feedback on essays within twenty-four hours.

Smarthinking survived the dot-com crash because, unlike most of their entrepreneurial peers, Smith and Gergen had actually come up with a working business model. Their clients were colleges and universities which, looking to cut costs, outsourced tutoring in the same way companies farm out IT work, back-office support, and customer service to call centers overseas. Smith and Gergen knew that tutoring could take advantage of the same powerful economies of scale that made call centers profitable. It would be cost prohibitive for a single college to provide on-demand 24/7 tutoring for a few sections of, say, organic chemistry—the college would have to hire teams of full-time workers to work in eight-hour shifts, and much of their time would be idle. Smarthinking pooled the demand from hundreds of colleges and tens of thousands of students while hiring credentialed tutors in places like India and the Philippines. As long as "on demand" was defined as a high likelihood of being served within a few minutes, economies of scale and cheap foreign labor could be combined to drive per-student service costs to unheard-of lows.

As a result, colleges could buy multihour blocks of 24/7 tutoring in subjects like biology and calculus from Smarthinking for much less than it would have cost them to provide that service on their own. By 2008, the company had 386 clients, ranging from big research universities to community colleges and the U.S. Army. Major publishers like Pearson and Houghton Mifflin packaged hours of Smarthinking tutoring with college textbooks and instructional software.

But Smarthinking still fell short of Smith's ambitions. He had built a particularly efficient cog in the mammoth,

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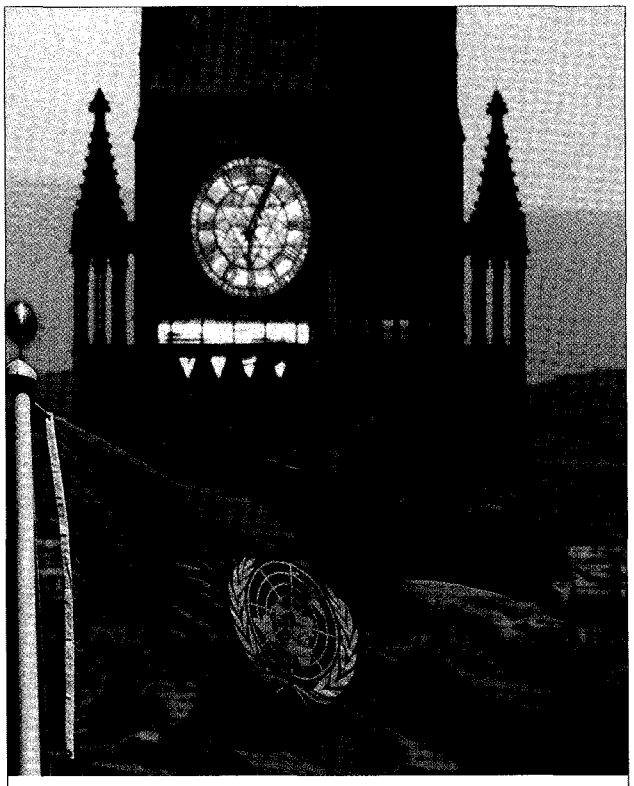

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THE NO-FRILLS CAMPUS

A Q & A with Southern New Hampshire University President Paul LeBlanc

As college tuition bills continue to outpace inflation, Southern New Hampshire University President Paul LeBlanc is reversing course. Last fall, he opened a satellite campus in a suburban office park, where tuition runs $10,000 a year—one-third the cost of tuition, room, and board at the main campus in Manchester. LeBlanc's cost-cutting forumula is simple: strip away the frills that usually come with the college experience. At the new campus, there's no dining hall, dormitory, or glee club; just classrooms. The early returns are promising—the program, which started with thirty-five students, is doubling its enrollment this year, and a number of other schools are following suit, including the Arizona and Pennsylvania state university systems. The *Washington Monthly*'s Tim Murphy recently quizzed LeBlanc on the ins and outs of bargain-basement education.

What's the basic idea behind the no-frills model?

I was thinking last year about the fact that we were building a $16 million dining hall that won't improve the quality of education one little bit. So we asked the inverse: Could we offer the essential educational experience—lots of academic support and advising, and really good teaching, and small classes, the things that are at the heart of what we do—and strip away all of the other things that add cost? And would there be a market for that product?

Why would a student want to go to college in an office park?

The same set of sensibilities that says, "Give me the core pieces, give me the thing I need, the essentials," says *where* it is is less relevant. In other words, what they need is a classroom in which good teaching and learning can take place. Everything else is extraneous. So as long as we can offer them great classroom space, they're saying to us and the market, "We're not interested in these other things, because these other things are not valuable to us."

How does the student body at the satellite campuses compare to the student body at the main campus?

From looking at the general metrics, they align pretty precisely along the same lines. The range of GPAs, SAT scores, et cetera—not a whole lot of difference. Where they differ is in their economic means. These are students who by and large might not be able to afford to live on campus and pay the $35,000 price tag. The $10,000 price tag is much more workable.

Don't you worry that if such a premium is placed on the classroom and scrapping everything else, students might lose something?

I do worry about it a little bit. "Do they not know what they don't know?" is sort of the lingering question. But I remind myself that there is no one right student model, and there is no right educational model. So for this cohort of students who are very clear about what they want, we can provide a solution.

Speaking of reforming the classroom, you've written on your blog that college teaching "remains mired in learning models that are demonstrably ineffective"—what do you mean by that?

The structures that shape that teaching still tend to be [centered] around time in the seat and the basics of credit hours and courses taken. One of the places, for example, that we're looking at right now is game design. Because game designers are very, very good at engaging users. [The goal is to] master something in order to get to the next level—we use that analogy for learning. And it's a way in which you can then be highly individualized. You would then have students moving through their education at faster or slower rates, depending on their mastery. And that would be a dramatic shift.

Now that the no-frills plan has been in operation for a year, what have you learned?

I think what we've discovered is that there is a group of students for whom this very focused educational experience, focusing only on the educational experience, and offering a private-school, private-university, high-quality, small-classes model—it works. There are people out there who say, "We want this." People vote with their pocketbooks. I mean, if you want to test an idea, ask people to pay for it. WM

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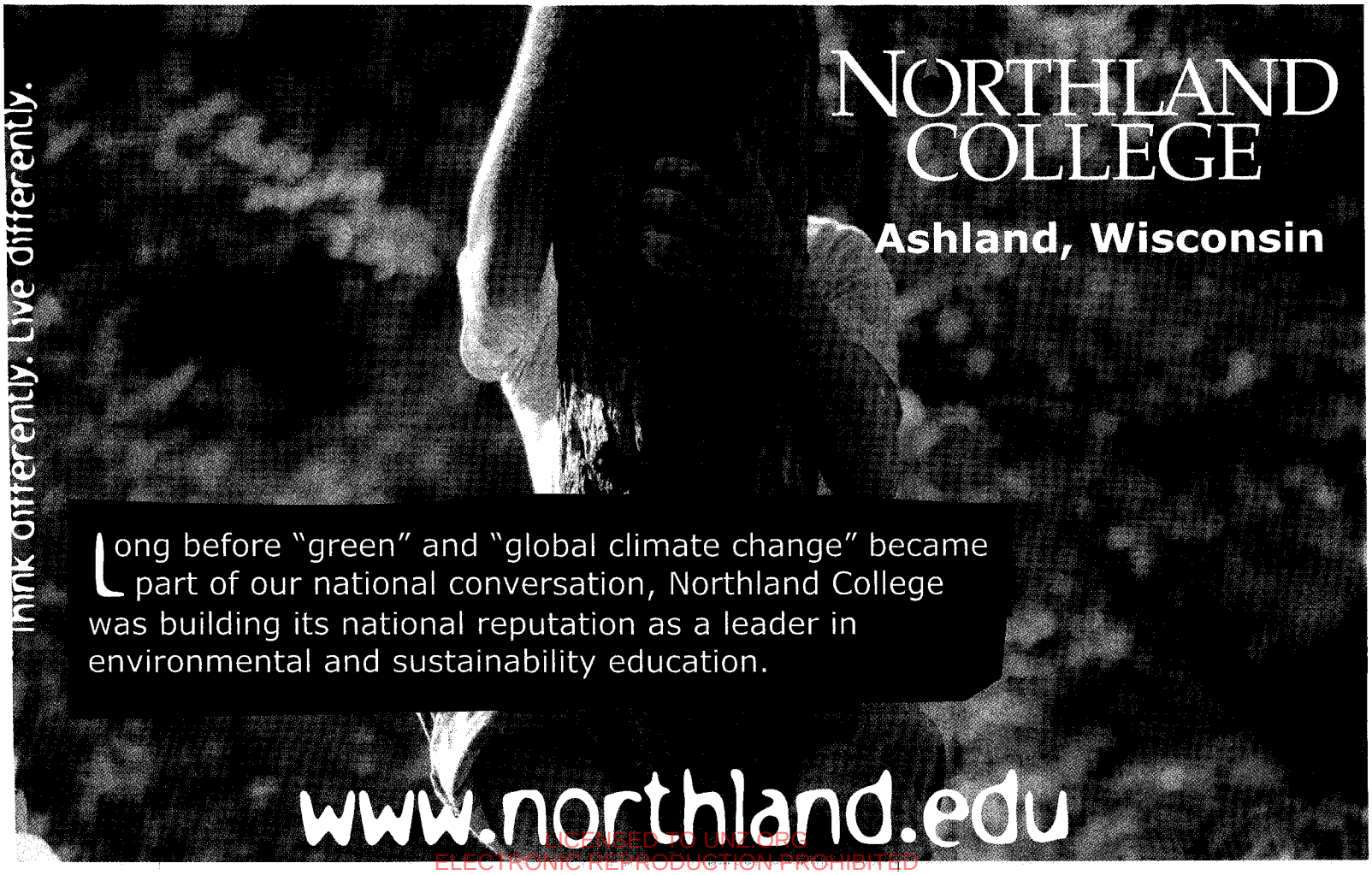
long-established higher education machine—but he hadn't yet transformed it.

To be sure, much had changed in higher education. Technology had indeed altered how people went to college—that much Smith had gotten right back in 1999. Broadband access had become ubiquitous, and textbook companies had converted their standard introductory course content into inexpensive, Web-friendly form. While college students in 1999 were still making the transition to a Web-dominated world, 2008's undergraduates had never known anything else. Both traditional colleges and for-profit companies like Kaplan and the University of Phoenix were diving headfirst into the online market, and students—especially people with day jobs like Barbara Solvig—were signing up in record numbers. Over four million college students—one-fifth of the total nationwide—took at least one online course last year.

But the other shoe had yet to drop. Even as the cost of educating students fell, tuition rose at nearly three times the rate of inflation. Web-based courses weren't providing the promised price competition—in fact, many traditional universities were charging *extra* for online classes, tacking a "technology fee" onto their standard (and rising) rates. Rather than trying to overturn the status quo, big, publicly traded companies like Phoenix were profiting from it by cutting costs, charging rates similar to those at traditional universities, and pocketing the difference.

This, Smith explained, was where StraighterLine came in. The cost of storing and communicating information over the Internet had fallen to almost nothing. Electronic course content in standard introductory classes had become a low-cost commodity. The only expensive thing left in higher education was the labor, the price of hiring a smart, knowledgeable person to help students when only a person would do. And the unique Smarthinking call-center model made that much cheaper, too. By putting these things together, Smith could offer introductory college courses à la carte, at a price that seemed to be missing a digit or two, or three: $99 per month, by subscription. Economics tells us that prices fall to marginal cost in the long run. Burck Smith simply decided to get there first.

To anyone who has watched the recent transformation of other information-based industries, the implications of all this are glaringly clear. Colleges charge students exorbitant sums partly because they can, but partly because they have to. Traditional universities are complex and expensive, providing a range of services from scientific research and graduate training to mass entertainment via loosely affiliated professional sports franchises. To fund these things, universities tap numerous streams of revenue: tuition, government funding, research grants, alumni and charitable donations. But the biggest cash cow is lower-division undergraduate education. Because introductory



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courses are cheap to offer, they're enormously profitable. The math is simple: Add standard tuition rates and any government subsidies, and multiply that by several hundred freshmen in a big lecture hall. Subtract the cost of paying a beleaguered adjunct lecturer or graduate student to teach the course. There's a lot left over. That money is used to subsidize everything else.

But this arrangement, however beneficial to society as a whole, is not a particularly good deal for the freshman gutting through an excruciating fifty minutes in the back of a lecture hall. Given the choice between paying many thousands of dollars to a traditional university for the lecture and paying a few hundred to a company like StraighterLine for a service that is more convenient and responsive to their needs, a lot of students are likely to opt for the latter—and the university will have thousands of dollars less to pay for libraries, basketball teams, classical Chinese poetry experts, and everything else.

Barbara Solvig completed four online courses with StraighterLine in two months, for less than $200 total. The same courses would have cost her over $6,300 at the University of Phoenix, and roughly the GDP of a small Central American nation at an elite private university.

What happens when the number of students making that choice reaches a critical mass? Consider the fate of the newspaper industry over the last five years. Like universities, newspapers relied on financial cross-subsidization to stay afloat, using fat profits from local advertising and classifieds to prop up money-losing news bureaus. This worked perfectly well until two things happened: the Internet made opinion and news content from around the world available for nothing, and the free online classified clearinghouse Craigslist obliterated newspapers' bedrock revenue source, the want ads. Suddenly, people didn't need to buy a newspaper to read news, and the papers' ability to subsidize expensive reporting with ad revenue was crippled. The result: plummeting newspaper profits leading to a tidal wave of layoffs and bankruptcies, and the shuttering of bureaus in Washington and abroad.

Like Craigslist, StraighterLine threatens the most profitable piece of a conglomerate business: freshman lectures, higher education's equivalent of the classified section. If enough students defect to companies like StraighterLine, the higher education industry faces the unbundling of the business model on which the current system is built. The consequences will be profound. Ivy League and other elite institutions will be relatively unaffected, because they're selling a product that's always scarce and never cheap: prestige. Small liberal arts colleges will also endure, because the traditional model—teachers and students learning together in a four-year idyll—is still the best, and some people will always be willing and able to pay for it.

But that terrifically expensive model is not what most of today's college students are getting. Instead, they tend to enroll in relatively anonymous two- or four-year public institutions and major in a job-oriented field like business, teaching, nursing, or engineering. They all take the same introductory courses: statistics, accounting, Econ 101. Teaching in those courses is often poor—adjunct-staffed lecture halls can be educational dead zones—but until recently students didn't have any other choice. Regional public universities and nonelite private colleges are most at risk from the likes of StraighterLine. They could go the way of the local newspaper, fatally shackled to geography, conglomeration, and an expensive labor structure, too dependent on revenues that vanish and never return.

By itself, the loss of profitable freshman courses would be devastating. And in the long run, Web-based higher education may not stop there. Companies like StraighterLine have the hallmarks of what Harvard Business School Professor Clayton Christensen and entrepreneur Michael Horn describe as "disruptive innovation." Such services tend to start small and cheap, targeting a sector of the market that established players don't care much about—like tutoring in introductory courses. "This allows them to take root in simple undemanding applications," Christensen and Horn write. "Little by little, the disruption predictably improves. . . . And at some point, disruptive innovations become good enough to handle more complicated problems and take over, and the once-leading companies with old-line products go out of business."

The pattern has played out in industries ranging from transistors to compact cars. When Japanese companies like Honda first began selling small, fuel-efficient cars in America, the vehicles were markedly inferior to the chrome-festooned behemoths rolling off the assembly lines of invincible Detroit giants like Ford and General Motors. But they were also inexpensive—and, when gas prices skyrocketed in the 1970s, suddenly more attractive as well. Japanese cars gradually improved while American companies lapsed into complacency, and the rest is history.

Econ 101 for $99 is online, today. 201 and 301 will come. It's no surprise, then, that as soon as Burck Smith tried to buck the system, the system began to push back.

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The biggest obstacle Smith faced in launching StraighterLine was a process called accreditation. Over time, colleges and universities have built sturdy walls and deep moats around their academic city-states. Students will only pay for courses that lead to college credits and universally recognized degrees. Credits and degrees can only be granted by—and students paying for college with federal grants and loans can only attend—institutions that are officially recognized by federally approved accreditors. And the most prestigious accreditors will only recognize *institutions*: organizations with academic departments, highly credentialed faculty, bureaucrats, libraries, and all the other pricey accoutrements of the modern university. These things make higher education more expensive, and they're not necessary if all you want to do is offer standard introductory courses online. To compete, Smith needed StraighterLine courses to be as inexpensive as they could be.

So he devised a clever way under the accreditation wall, brokering deals whereby a handful of accredited traditional and for-profit institutions agreed to become "partner colleges" that would allow students to transfer in StraighterLine courses for credit. After the credits were accepted—laundered, a cynic might say—students could theoretically transfer them anywhere else in the higher education system. The partner colleges stood to benefit from the deal as well. They all had their own online endeavors, but those required hefty marketing investments to keep new students enrolling. The schools reasoned that the StraighterLine relationship would introduce them to potential new students, with some StraighterLine customers sticking around to take their more advanced (and expensive) courses.

One of StraighterLine's original partner colleges was Fort Hays State University, just off I-70 in Hays, Kansas. Smith had met the school's provost, Larry Gould, at a higher education technology conference back in 2001. Soon after, Fort Hays became one of the first clients for Smarthinking's tutoring services. When Smith approached Gould in late 2007 with the StraighterLine concept, the provost paid four faculty members to review StraighterLine's curricula and course materials—a level of scrutiny, he notes, that far exceeds that given to most credits students transfer in. "Right now students can bring in up to sixty credits from community colleges," Gould told me, "even though we often don't know who taught those courses or even what the syllabi look like. The StraighterLine people we know, and the course materials are there to see."

But as word of the StraighterLine deal spread around the Fort Hays campus, professors and students began to protest. By early 2009 a Facebook group called "FHSU students against Straighter Line" had sprung up, attracting more than 150 members. "Larry Gould," they charged, "has taken steps that will inevitably cheapen the quality and value of a degree from Fort Hays State University by placing our university in bed with a private corporation. . . . [T]he end result of this move is that FHSU would have a viable reason to eliminate faculty positions in favor of utilizing services like Straighter Line." The English Department announced its displeasure while a well-known academics' blog warned of the encroaching "media-software–publishing–E-learning-complex." Gould was denounced in the Fort Hays student newspaper.

Soon the story was picked up by the national higher education trade publication *Inside Higher Ed*, which caught the attention of the accreditor that oversees Fort Hays. The accreditor began asking questions, not just of Fort Hays but also of some of the other partner colleges, including for-profit Grand Canyon University and Ellis University. This prompted more news coverage and Internet chatter; one blog led with the headline, "Something Crooked About StraighterLine?"

Within months, Grand Canyon and Ellis had ended their involvement with the company. The controversy eventually took a toll on Fort Hays as well; in June the university informed StraighterLine that it was considering bringing the relationship to an end. Smith had to recruit several new partner colleges to stay afloat.

Using call centers with credentialed tutors in places like India and the Philippines, Burck Smith's company offers introductory college courses to U.S. students at a price that seem to be missing a digit or two, or three.

When I spoke with Smith again in June, the whole experience had left him frustrated. "A couple of posts from grad students who've never even seen or taken one of the courses pop up on Facebook," he said, "and North Central [the accreditor] launches an investigation. Meanwhile, there are horror stories about bad teaching at regular universities on RateMyProfessors.com"—a popular student feedback site—"and they don't give it a second look." Since traditional colleges provide virtually no public information about how much students learn in their introductory courses and won't even agree on a common standard for how such results could be measured, there was no way for Smith to prove the quality of his courses in the face of accusations. And Smith's Facebook critics weren't looking all that closely at their own institution; even as they warned, "If we don't fight against Straighter Line, it will

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be the death of the awesome, face-to-face education that FHSU has provided students for decades," the university was itself teaching thousands of students online through the Fort Hays "Virtual College," and using Smarthinking tutors to do it.

Meanwhile, Smarthinking's executive management team (the company is privately held) began questioning why they were spending so much time and effort beating against the accreditation wall. StraighterLine enrolled a few hundred students in its first year of operation, accounting for only a marginal piece of Smarthinking revenues. The company's core business was *serving* colleges and universities, they reasoned, not competing with them. By the end of July, Smith had stepped down as company president and was finalizing negotiations to take over StraighterLine as a separate business.

The day is coming when a great deal of money will abruptly melt out of the higher education system. When it does, universities won't be able to provide all the things beyond teaching on which society depends: science, culture, the transmission of our civilization from one generation to the next.

Smith's struggle to establish StraighterLine suggests that higher education still has some time before the Internet bomb explodes in its basement. The fuse was only a couple of years long for the music and travel industries; for newspapers it was ten. Colleges may have another decade or two, particularly given their regulatory protections. Imagine if Honda, in order to compete in the American market, had been required by federal law to adopt the preestablished labor practices, management structure, dealer network, and vehicle portfolio of General Motors. Imagine further that Honda could only sell cars through GM dealers. Those are essentially the terms that accreditation forces on potential disruptive innovators in higher education today.

There's a psychological barrier as well. Most people are so invested in the idea of education-by-institution that it's hard to imagine another way. There's also a sense that for-profit schools are a little sleazy (and some of them are). Because Web-based higher education is still relatively new, and the market lacks information that allows students to compare introductory courses at one institution to another, consumers tend to see all online courses in the same bad light. "The public isn't good at discriminating," says Larry Gould. "They read 'online course' and they think 'low quality,' even when it's not true."

But neither the regulatory nor the psychological obstacles match the evolving new reality. Consumers will become more sophisticated, not less. The accreditation wall will crumble, as most artificial barriers do. All it takes is for one generation of college students to see online courses as no more or less legitimate than any other—and a whole lot cheaper in the bargain—for the consensus of consumer taste to rapidly change. The odds of this happening quickly are greatly enhanced by the endless spiral of steep annual tuition hikes, which are forcing more students to go deep into debt to pay for college while driving low-income students out altogether. If Burck Smith doesn't bring extremely cheap college courses to the masses, somebody else will.

Which means the day is coming—sooner than many people think—when a great deal of money is going to abruptly melt out of the higher education system, just as it has in scores of other industries that traffic in information that is now far cheaper and more easily accessible than it has ever been before. Much of that money will end up in the pockets of students in the form of lower prices, a boon and a necessity in a time when higher education is the key to prosperity. Colleges will specialize where they have comparative advantage, rather than trying to be all things to all people. A lot of silly, too-expensive things—vainglorious building projects, money-sucking sports programs, tenured professors who contribute little in the way of teaching or research—will fade from memory, and won't be missed.

But other parts of those institutions will be threatened too—vital parts that support local communities and legitimate scholarship, that make the world a more enlightened, richer place to live. Just as the world needs the foreign bureaus that newspapers are rapidly shutting down, it needs quirky small university presses, Mughal textile historians, and people who are paid to think deep, economically unproductive thoughts. Rather than hiding within the conglomerate, each unbundled part of the university will have to find new ways to stand alone. There is an unstable, treacherous future ahead for institutions that have been comfortable for a long time. Like it or not, that's the higher education world to come. WM

Kevin Carey is the policy director of Education Sector, an independent think tank in Washington, D.C.

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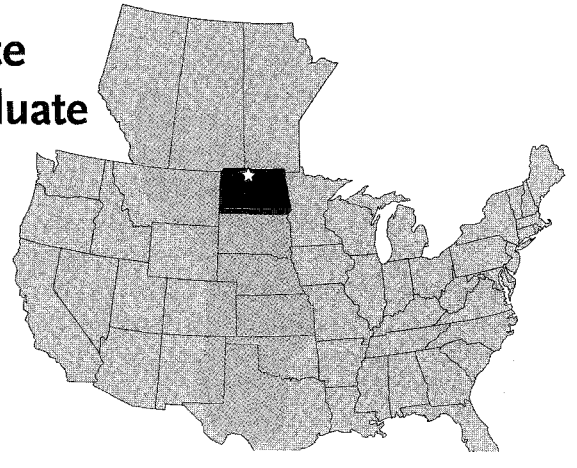

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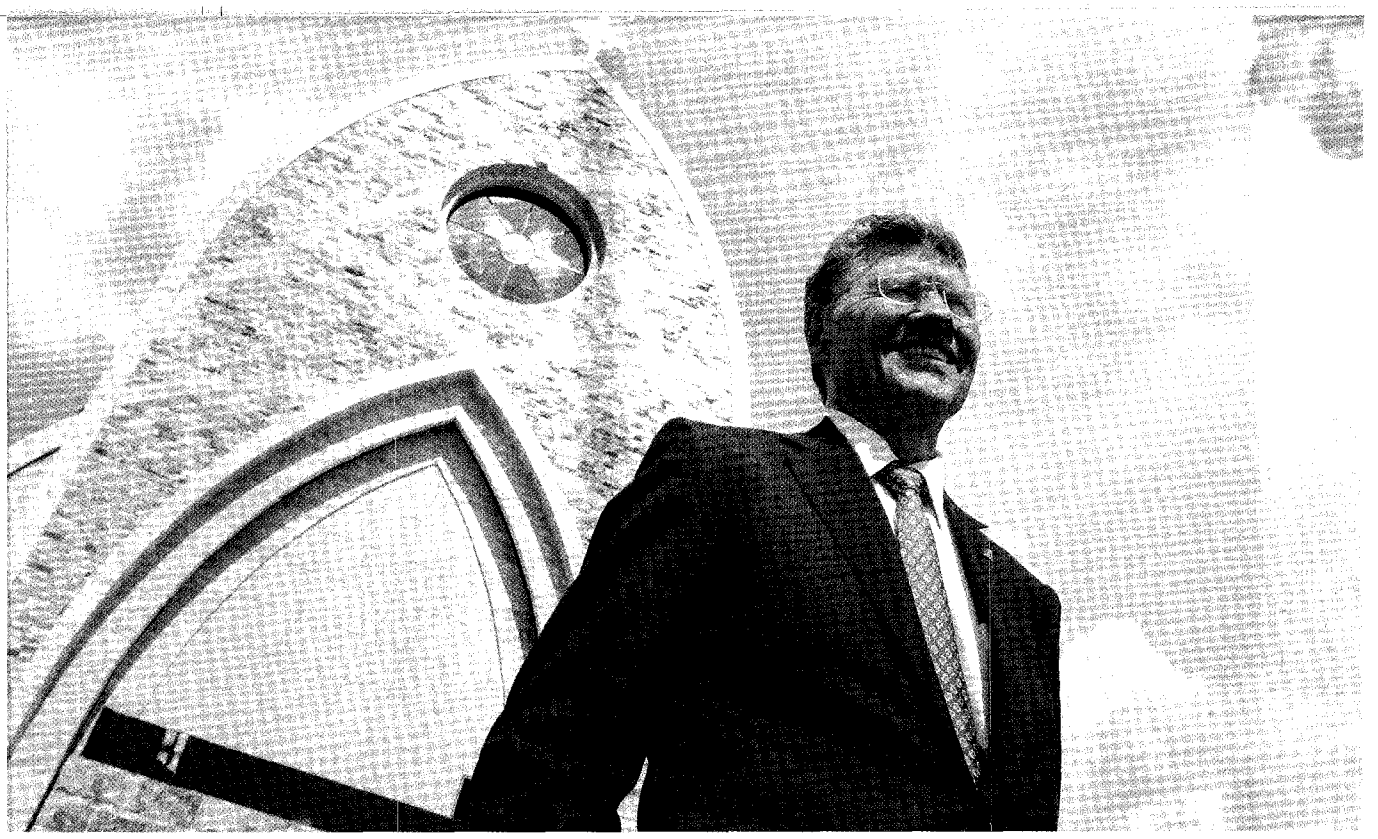

Deliverance: Domino's Pizza founder Tom Monaghan at Ave Maria University.

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Pie in the Sky

What happened when a billionaire pizza mogul tried to build an elite Catholic law school.

By Mariah Blake

In the fall of 1998, Steve Safranek, a devout Catholic professor, found himself at a crossroads. For nearly a decade, he had been teaching at the University of Detroit Mercy School of Law, a small Catholic enclave in the heart of the rust belt, and, like many institutions in the region, it was undergoing wrenching change. Enrollment had taken such a tumble that administrators were considering cutting a third of the faculty, and there was growing anxiety among conservative professors, who felt the school was drifting from its traditional Catholic roots. The turmoil only deepened that September when a pro-choice Michigan Supreme Court justice was invited to give the oath at the annual Red Mass, a centuries-old ceremony where Catholic lawyers, judges, and politicians ask God's blessing and guidance in their daily work. Some faculty and staff turned out with picket signs; others, like Safranek, simply chose not to attend. This touched off a bitter dispute with the administration.

Around this time, Safranek decided he would pray every day for fifty-four days straight to St. Thomas More, the renaissance lawyer and statesman who coined the word "utopia." As he recited his Hail Marys, an idea began to percolate: Why not start a new Catholic law school? A few weeks later, Safranek caught word that Tom Monaghan, the eccentric billionaire who founded Domino's Pizza, had sold his business and was planning to devote his fortune to conservative Catholic causes. So he hashed out a proposal and got four other University of Detroit Mercy professors and an administrator to sign on. To show they were serious, each of them offered to chip in $20,000 and work for free for a year.

Monaghan was intrigued. In early December, he invited Safranek and the others to Domino's Farm, a half-mile-long office complex with numerous quirky amenities—among them a herd of buffalo and a petting zoo—which he had built in Ann Arbor Township. The group met in a small, sparsely furnished room, where they discussed their ideas for the new venture. "There was some talk about Catholic law schools, generally; most American ones were started as technical professional entities to

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keep graduates of Catholic colleges around for three more years," Safranek recalls. "We wanted to build something different—a school where traditional Catholic values and thought were built into every part of the curriculum." At the same time, Safranek and company wanted to avoid the trap that many new schools fall into; because they're strapped for cash, they end up with scantly stocked libraries, second-rate faculty, and middling students. Their aim was to build a world-class institution, one that would churn out lawyers capable of leaving their stamp on the larger culture.

Once the professors were done speaking, Monaghan went around the table and asked them one by one if he could count on their commitment. They all said he could. Monaghan then promised to throw his financial might behind the project—while he didn't settle on a specific dollar figure, the numbers he batted around were in the tens of millions. Finally, the group retreated to Monaghan's office, a two-story suite with raw-silk ceilings and leather floors, for drinks and hors d'oeuvres. Through the window, they could see buffalo grazing and a light snow falling on the brown hills.

After the meeting, Monaghan approached Bernard Dobranski, the dean of the law school at the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C., and asked him to head up the new venture, known as Ave Maria School of Law. It was a risky proposition for a seasoned academic—giving up tenure, a generous salary, and the promise of long sabbaticals to take part in a startup venture. But the idea piqued Dobranski's interest. The following day, he asked his friend, Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia, to lunch and sought his advice. Scalia pressed him to take the job. The conservative justice was later flown out on Monaghan's private jet to consult on the curriculum. Scalia was so enthusiastic about the project that he also persuaded his friend Robert Bork, the erstwhile conservative Supreme Court nominee, to join the faculty. Before long other prominent conservatives were lining up behind the project. They were so enamored with the idea, and the money Monaghan was willing to put behind it, that no one seemed to give much thought to the implications of a fast-food mogul wading into the world of higher ed.

Tom Monaghan was born in 1937 on the outskirts of Ann Arbor, Michigan. His father, a truck driver, died when he was just four years old, and his mother was unable to support him and his younger brother on the $27.50 a week she earned as a maid. The boys spent a couple years bouncing between foster homes before landing at St. Joseph's Home for Boys, a Catholic orphanage in Jackson, Michigan. It was a harsh existence. When they weren't saying their rosaries, the boys spent hours on end ironing and scrubbing floors. Punishment was doled out with a strap, often wielded by the feared Sister Ladislaus.

To escape, Monaghan turned to fantasy. He mused about becoming a priest or a shortstop for the Detroit Tigers, and imagined trading in his threadbare clothes for elegant belongings. "I would dream of having things—not the *good* or the *better*, but the *best*," Monaghan writes in his memoir, *Pizza Tiger*. "And I could visualize them so perfectly, it was like actually possessing them. I would picture my house or cabin and sometimes I would even build it in my imagination." These mental building projects later gave way to a fascination with architecture. Monaghan spent his teenage years plowing through books on Frank Lloyd Wright. He hoped to one day follow in the great architect's footsteps, but this dream turned out to be beyond his reach. Monaghan graduated at the bottom of his high school class and enrolled in a seminary, but he was kicked out because he "lacked vocation." A few years later, he moved to Ann Arbor with the hopes of studying architecture at the University of Michigan, but his finances were shaky and his math skills lacking. Though he enrolled three times, he never completed a single semester.

Then, in the winter of 1960, Monaghan and his brother heard that a man in Ypsilanti had a pizzeria he was looking to sell on the cheap. The pair managed to scrape together $75 for the down payment, and before long they were slinging pizzas. A few months later, Monaghan traded a Volkswagen Beetle for his brother's share of the business. If he couldn't be an architect, he decided, he would throw himself into building a pizza empire.

Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia was flown out on Monaghan's private jet to consult on the curriculum of the new Ave Maria School of Law. Scalia was so enthusiastic that he urged his friend Robert Bork to join the faculty.

For all his struggles in the classroom, Monaghan turned out to be a brilliant businessman. Early on, he dropped sub sandwiches from his menu and began focusing on delivery to college campuses, which was far more lucrative than sit-down service. He also invented a new insulated pizza box. Unlike its chipboard predecessors, it could be stacked without squishing the pizzas inside. This

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allowed him to deliver more pies per trip, and assured they were warm when they arrived. Monaghan eventually began spreading his model to other college towns, and by the mid-1980s, nearly three new Domino's franchises were opening every day.

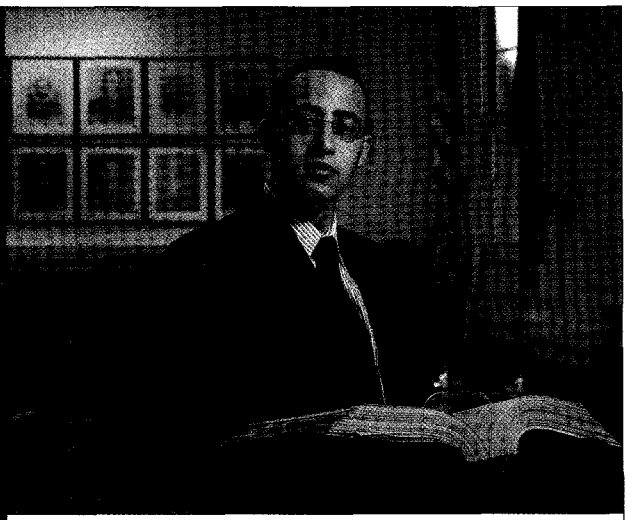
The key to Domino's growth was a tightly controlled franchise system. When a new store opened, headquarters would send a truck stocked with everything from pizza ovens to forks and aprons. Store managers worked from a thick operations manual, known as "the Bible," which dictated every aspect of operations, down to the smallest detail. Monaghan also kept a tight reign on his employees: store workers were barred from sitting down during their shifts, and executives were expected to uproot their lives and move across the country on Monaghan's whim. At headquarters, female staffers had to wear skirts or dresses that fell below the knees—pants were strictly forbidden.

As Monaghan's business grew, so did his appetite for spending. He bought a Gulfstream jet, a Sikorsky S-76 helicopter, and a fleet of cars—among them the Packard that had ferried Franklin Roosevelt to his 1933 inauguration, and a handmade Bugatti Royale. (The latter cost him $8 million, the most ever paid for a classic car.) He also began buying up Frank Lloyd Wright homes, and assembled the world's largest collection of Wright furniture. But his most famous purchase was the Detroit Tigers, which he bought in 1983. When the team won the World Series the following year, Monaghan had his private helicopter ferry hundreds of Domino's pizzas to Tiger Stadium.

Even during his prodigal years, Monaghan never lost sight of his Catholic roots. And beginning in the mid-1980s, he started delving more deeply into his faith, and embracing conservative Catholic causes. Then, in 1989, at the suggestion of a Catholic scholar friend, he read a passage from the C. S. Lewis classic *Mere Christianity* that railed against pride as "the essential vice, the utmost evil." It dawned on Monaghan that his hunger for success and flashy belongings was pride in its purist form. He immediately swore what he called a "millionaire's vow of poverty" and began shedding his possessions. Finally, in 1998, he sold Domino's for an estimated $1 billion and announced that he was retiring from the pizza business so he could devote his time and money to Catholic education. "I want to die broke," he declared.

It was later that year that Safranek and the other professors approached Monaghan with their idea for the Catholic law school. Their timing couldn't have been better; Monaghan was already busy piecing together his educational empire. His first act had been to found Ave Maria College, a Catholic school in Ypsilanti. But he had trouble getting accreditation for the stand-alone venture, so he struck a deal to take over St. Mary's College, a 120-year-old Catholic school in nearby Orchard Lake Village. In exchange for its accreditation charter, he would give the struggling institution the cash it needed to thrive—among other things, Monaghan planned to beef up the faculty and build a division-one football team. (Or, as St. Mary's then President Thaddeus Radzilowski recalls, "He wanted a school that produced three-hundred-pound tackles who were also theology majors.")

Shortly after their seminal meeting with Monaghan, Safranek and the others negotiated buyouts from the University of Detroit Mercy, packed up their belongings, and moved to Ann Arbor. For most, this move came with some sacrifices. Safranek gave up tenure and a seat on the city council, and sold the home he had just bought for his wife and seven children, a brick abode with a vegetable garden



"When I first came to Cornell I was a bit overwhelmed. Then I discovered volunteer work. I found a purpose and a passion in working with the kids who were most underserved."

In his junior year at Cornell, Svante Myrick parlayed his passion for service into a successful run for Ithaca's Common Council, where he helped to create a city Youth Council.

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TURNING IDEALS INTO LEADERSHIP SINCE 1865

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near Lake Sinclair. But they were too wrapped up in their new venture to have regrets.

The professors set up shop in a bank of cubicles at Domino's Farms, which housed, among other things, the headquarters of Domino's Pizza. From there, they began putting together the curriculum and recruiting professors. Dobranski eventually drew up a list of thirty-six luminaries of Catholic legal education (he called them his "dream team") and began contacting them with a personal invitation to join the faculty. Before long, inquiries from prospective students were pouring in. In the fall of 2000, when Ave Maria School of Law opened the doors to its new campus—an 85,000-square-foot Frank Lloyd Wright–style building in northeast Ann Arbor—it had seventy-five students, almost double the initial projections. Their bona fides, namely LSAT scores, were on par with students at many top-tier law schools. Suddenly,

Monaghan envisioned an old-school company town with a theocratic twist. He and his partner would own everything from the local utility company to the building supply that provided concrete for wells. They would also control the local government.

Monaghan—a college dropout who had made his fortune delivering pizzas to dorm rooms—was in the inner circle of what was shaping up to be an elite academic club.

From the beginning, Monaghan insisted he wouldn't meddle in the law school's daily operations. As he put it in an interview with the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, "When I owned the Detroit Tigers, I didn't climb into the dugout and tell Sparky how to set his lineup." But behind the scenes, he was quietly amassing control. Monaghan appointed himself chairman of the board. According to deposition testimony that Monaghan and his deputies later gave, Dean Dobranski was also given an employment contract with Monaghan's private foundation rather than with Ave Maria law school. This meant the dean answered directly to Monaghan and not the board of governors, which was supposed to be in charge. Dobranski was also obligated to send the former pizza mogul daily writeups of his activities, to which Monaghan would reply with detailed instructions. What's more, money for both the law school and the colleges was doled out in dribs and drabs, which allowed Monaghan to keep a tight rein on their operations. (St. Mary's administrators, for instance, recall pleading with Monaghan's foundation for $75 to pay the referees at a baseball game.) None of this really mattered as long as he and the faculty were driving toward the same vision. It was only when Monaghan hit on his next grand scheme that things began to unravel.

By early 2002, Monaghan had three promising schools—Ave Maria College, St. Mary's, and Ave Maria School of Law—but they were scattered across Michigan. In the hopes of bringing them together on a single campus, he submitted plans to build a new Ave Maria University at Domino's Farms. The proposal might have sailed through unnoticed if it weren't for one detail: a 250-foot crucifix. That's taller than the old General Motors building and almost as tall as the Statue of Liberty. The idea touched off a firestorm in Ann Arbor Township, a wealthy rural community with roughly 5,000 residents near the city of Ann Arbor. Many locals still nursed resentments over Monaghan's previous architectural ventures; years earlier he had tried to build the "Leaning Tower of Pizza," a thirty-five-story copper-and-bronze-clad tower with a slight eastward slant. A few also grumbled that the onetime pizza baron—who had already opened two convents, a pair of Catholic radio stations, and a Catholic newspaper in the area—was trying to turn the township into a theocracy.

In the end, the local planning commission denied his petition to build the university, and Monaghan was forced to look further afield. He eventually settled on a scraggly stretch of tomato fields bordering southwest Florida's Corkscrew Swamp. The site was twenty miles inland of Naples, which has a high concentration of Catholics and conservatives, and Monaghan believed they would be friendlier to his vision. And, as luck would have it, Barron Collier Companies, a powerful local landowner, offered to donate some 750 acres on which to build the university. In return, Monaghan agreed to work with Barron Collier to build a planned community around the school, with the profit split down the middle.

What they envisioned was an old-fashioned company town with a theocratic twist. Monaghan and Barron Collier would own everything from the local utility company to the building supply that provided concrete for wells and foundations. But the most startling part of the whole arrangement was the plan for governing the community. In Florida, developers can petition to act as the local government for a number of years while a development is under construction. Monaghan and Barron Collier began pushing the Florida state legislature to pass a law that would allow them to control the local govern-

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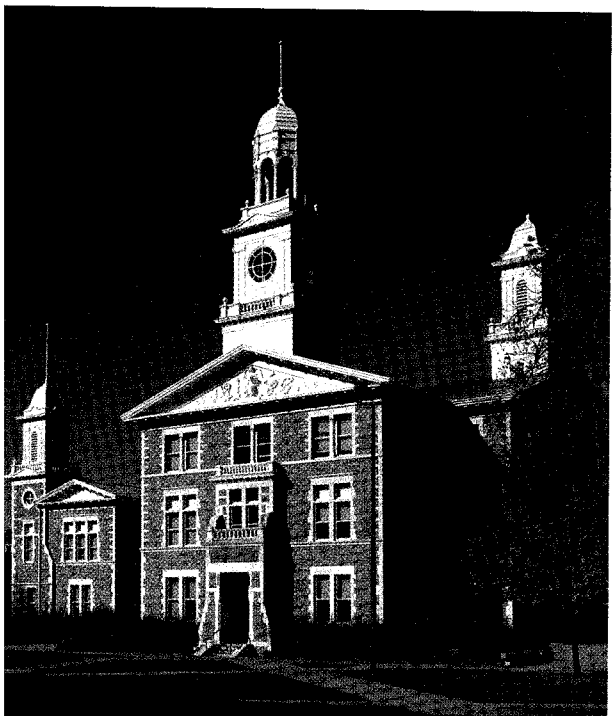

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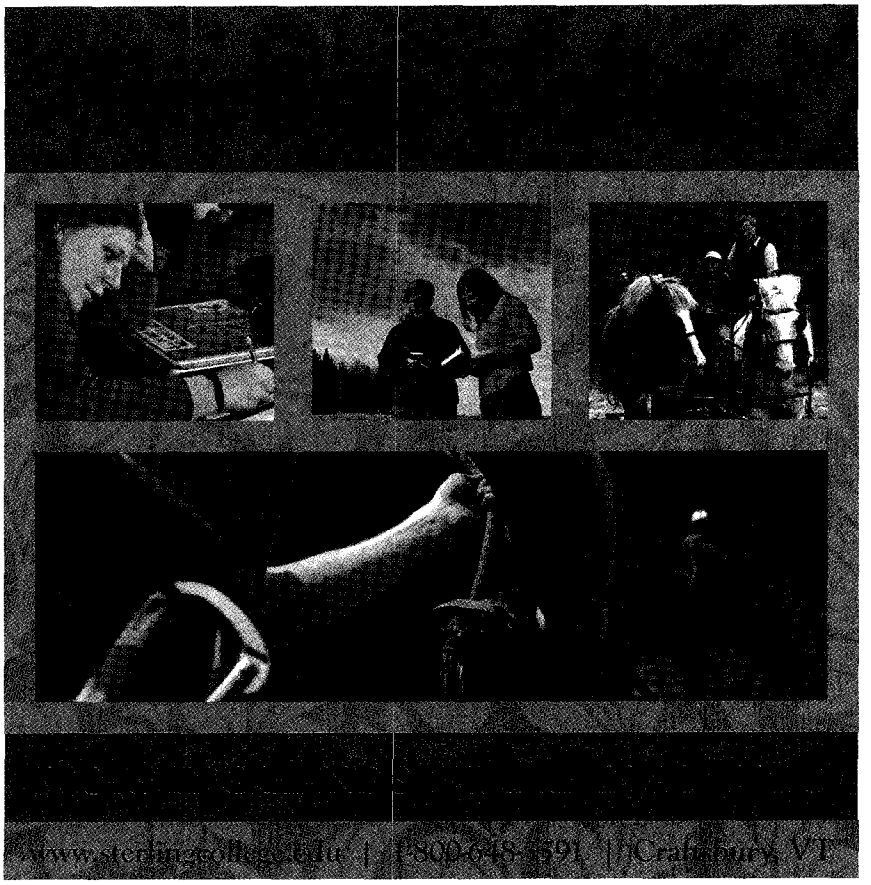

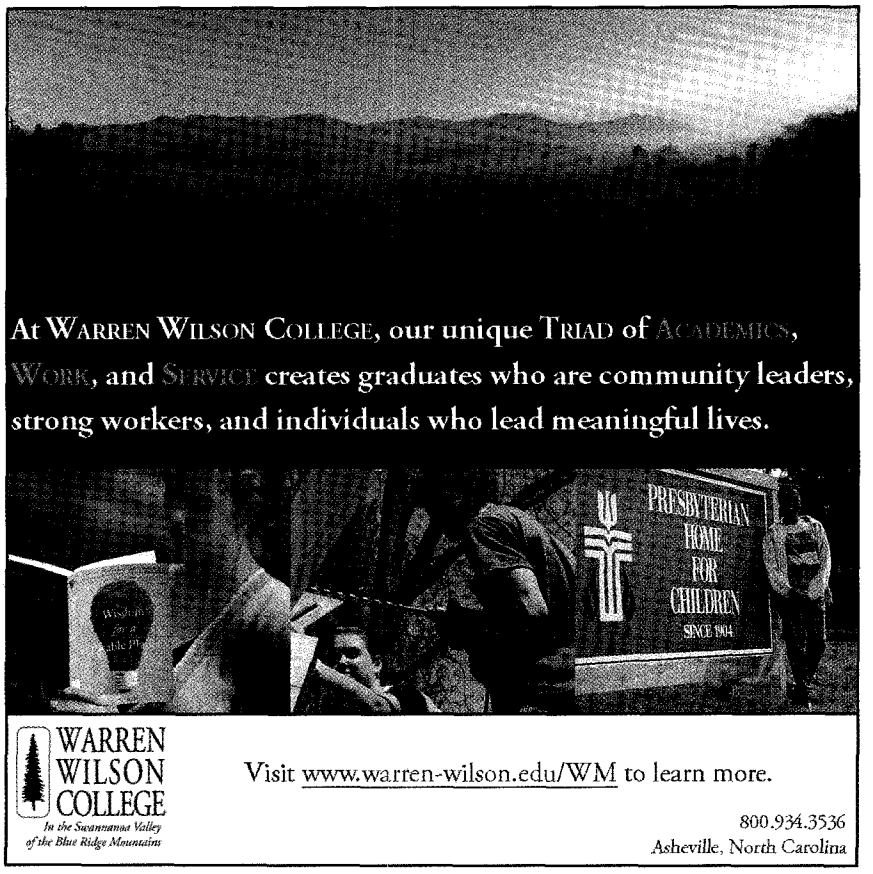

ment in perpetuity—and, according to an investigation by the *Naples Daily News*, they eventually succeeded. While their powers were technically limited when it came to regulating behavior, they clearly intended to keep a tight grip on community life. The original letter of intent between Barron Collier and Monaghan said the town would "allow no public activities which are offensive to traditional Christian values or which might represent a scandal to Catholic and Christian sensibilities. Thus, no topless bars, abortion clinics, 'adult' bookstores or the like shall be permitted."

Perhaps more importantly, the Florida project would allow Monaghan to indulge his passion for architecture. At the heart of town would sit an Italian-style piazza, flanked on one side by Monaghan's giant crucifix and a 60,000-square-foot church inspired by Frank Lloyd Wright. (Monaghan boasted at one point that he had sketched the original design for the church on a napkin.) The building was supposed to have the largest seating capacity of any Catholic church in America, though plans were later scaled back.

Monaghan went public with his plans in late 2002, saying in a press conference that he would donate $220 million for a new university in Florida, which he said would eventually have 5,000 students and a world-class golf course that would host the "Catholic Augusta National." The following fall, the university opened an interim campus in an existing development near Naples.

As work got under way in Florida, financing for Monaghan's Michigan projects began to evaporate. With only a few months' notice, he severed ties with St. Mary's and pulled most of the funding. The school would have been forced to shut down if another Catholic university hadn't agreed to take it over at the last moment. Even so, it had to cut roughly half its faculty, and many students were forced to drop out because fi-

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nancial aid dried up. Despite promises from Monaghan to keep Ave Maria College open until 2007 so students could finish their degrees, administrators started moving to close it down, too. Professors say they were given a stark choice: move to Florida, or risk losing their jobs. Bewildered parents found themselves fighting back plans to pack up all the library books and ship them south. "It was like, 'Whoa, wait a minute, you can't just take all the books!'" recalls Therese Bower, whose son attended the school. Within two years, the student body had dwindled from 230 to around thirty, and Monaghan began offering the remaining students buyouts.

Even as the other campuses descended into turmoil, however, Ave Maria School of Law continued to flourish. The first class, which graduated in 2003, had a 93 percent bar passage rate, the highest of any school in the state. (This prompted the *National Review* to quip that the University of Michigan—known for churning out powerhouse litigators and Supreme Court justices—had the "second-best law school in Ann Arbor.") The following year, a staggering 100 percent of Ave Maria law school grads passed the Michigan bar on the first go-round. Many were also going on to high-powered jobs and prestigious clerkships. "We were hitting success after success," says Joe Falvey, who was then associate dean. "Everything was clicking on all cylinders."

Why was the law school spared? The answer appears to hang on a technicality. Monaghan initially wanted to uproot it and move it to Florida, along with Ave Maria College. But in mid-2003, the board commissioned a feasibility study, which found the move could put the school's pending ABA accreditation at risk. Shortly after that, the board announced that it had tabled the idea of relocating. But behind closed doors, planning for the move continued. According to Falvey, who regularly attended board meetings, plans were drawn up for a $30 million law school building on the Florida campus—it would sit just across from "Mansion Row," a grassy promenade lined with stately homes belonging to university officials.

At one point early on, Monaghan invited the law school board to Naples for a stay at LaPlaya Beach & Golf Resort, a four-star hotel with a tiki bar overlooking the Gulf of Mexico. While there, the group met with Barron Collier executives, who laid out their plans, including those for the new law school building. By this time Charlie Rice, a founding board member and professor emeritus at Notre Dame, was beginning to have grave doubts about the project. "I thought, This is going to be a train wreck," he recalls. "We're going to uproot this thriving law school and move it to the campus of some nonexistent university before we even know if the whole thing is viable?" According to attendees, and a string of memos, Rice suggested that the board agree to consult faculty and students before committing to a move, and give them at least four years' notice. He also pressed for a secure endowment, so the school wouldn't be dependent on one person. Monaghan came unglued. (He later sent Rice a letter saying, "I am writing to express my embarrassment over my inability to control my emotions.") After that, the struggle between the two men only grew more bitter. According to Falvey and Rice, Monaghan eventually began threatening to pull funding for the school if the board refused to move it to Florida. Rice, meanwhile, grew increasingly shrill in his resistance. At one point he wrote Monaghan saying, "If you succeed in your effort to compel the Board to vote to relocate, you will find that you have relocated merely a name and an empty shell." (Monaghan did not respond to requests for an interview.)

Gradually, details of the conflict and the looming move leaked out, and it had a toxic effect on the school. By 2005, the quality of applicants was dropping, and the most promising students were transferring out by the dozen. To keep the student body from collapsing, administrators had to give out ever-larger scholarships. This had the perverse effect of making the school, which was supposed to be financially independent by 2010, even more dependent on Monaghan. Despite the turmoil, in August 2005 the ABA granted Ave Maria law school final accreditation, meaning it could begin openly pursuing the move to Florida. The following month, the board voted to impose term limits, a move many students and faculty saw as a ploy to push Rice out.

Bewildered parents found themselves fighting back plans to pack up all the library books and ship them south. "It was like, 'Whoa, wait a minute, you can't just take all the books!'" one mother recalls.

Rice's ouster, combined with a poor showing in the *U.S. News & World Report* rankings several months later, heightened the sense among faculty and students that Monaghan and the administration would stop at nothing to push through the move to Florida, even if it meant destroying the school. What started as rumbling discontent burgeoned into full-scale revolt. In mid-2006, the

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faculty held a vote of no confidence in the dean, and roughly two-thirds voted in favor. Alumni and students followed suit, with their own no-confidence vote and, later, a call for Monaghan's removal as chairman of the board. But the uproar made little difference. The following February, the board voted overwhelmingly to move the law school to Florida.

Meanwhile, the administration began cracking down on agitators. "Monaghan wanted no dissent, so the screws began to get turned," says Safranek. No one was targeted more aggressively than the former University of Detroit Mercy professor. Safranek, who was among the most outspoken in his criticism of the school's management, was repeatedly disciplined, often for seemingly trumped-up offenses. At one point, he received a letter saying he had been found guilty of "uninvited" touching of "the person of one of the Law School staff employees," an accusation that smacked of sexual impropriety. What actually happened only became clear much later, when the contents of Safranek's employee file—including a written statement from the alleged victim—were released as the result of a lawsuit: Safranek had walked by the dean's secretary while she was shuffling through the trunk of her car in the law school parking lot, tapped her on the arm, and said, "Good morning, Sarah."

Many who lived through the turmoil at Monaghan's schools believe that the root problem was his inability to grasp the difference between running a fast-food business and an institution of higher learning.

Based on these and other allegations, Safranek had his tenure revoked in July 2007. Since that time, he's been hunting, without success, for another faculty position. By now he's lost hope of ever working in academia again. "I try not to have regrets," he says. "But for twenty years, teaching was my life. Sometimes I have the feeling that everything I've done has been for naught." (Administrators declined to comment on the circumstances surrounding Safranek's departure because he has a suit pending against the school. "Our policy is not to comment on matters before the court," Dean Eugene Milhizer wrote in an e-mail.)

Since Safranek's ouster, the law school has been in a freefall. Most of the original faculty have fled or been pushed out, and the quality of the students has tumbled. One current professor told me, "Our student body now is one of the four or five worst in America." The instability has also wreaked havoc on the school's reputation: in the 2009 *U.S. News & World Report* law school rankings, Ave Maria tied for last place in the peer-assessment category, the most important measure in determining a school's standing. (The school was not officially ranked because *U.S. News* doesn't rank schools that land in the bottom tier.) Meanwhile, there are signs that Monaghan's foundation, which funds the law school and the university, is on the verge of running out of money, in part because Monaghan bet his fortune—and the future of his nonprofits—on the now-crumbling Florida real estate market. Earlier this year, Ave Maria University's second-longest-standing professor resigned, but not before sending a letter to administrators expressing his alarm at the school's financial straights. "I fear that all of us (to different degrees) are participating in something that we may later deeply regret," he wrote, "namely selling to young people and their families [an] educational product that we do not have sufficient reason to believe can be delivered."

Meanwhile, in June, the U.S. Department of Education reported that Ave Maria School of Law had failed its financial responsibility test, the only law school in the nation to do so. Even more troubling, the school ranked sixth to last among all American institutions of higher learning on the department's financial responsibility index, thanks partly to its multimillion-dollar deficit. With its finances in disarray, the school has shelved plans for the $50 million building across from Mansion Row. When Ave Maria School of Law finally opened for business in Florida this August, it was in a former retirement home on the outskirts of Naples.

Many who have lived through the turmoil at the law school and Monaghan's other educational institutions believe that the root problem is his inability to grasp the difference between running a fast-food business and an institution of higher learning. "He views these schools as franchises that he can open and close at will like a pizza shop," says Thomas Woods, a former dean of St. Mary's. "He has this Cartesian view of the world—that you can dream up an idea in your head and impose it on the plastic substance of reality, like a cookie cutter on dough. But academic life is messier than that. Things have to be done by negotiation and persuasion. They have to be worked out over time." Unfortunately for the professors and students who wagered their futures on his educational ventures, that kind of give and take simply isn't Monaghan's style. WM

Mariah Blake is an editor of the *Washington Monthly*. Tim Murphy contributed reporting for this story.

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Emily Calandrelli is an academic all-star:

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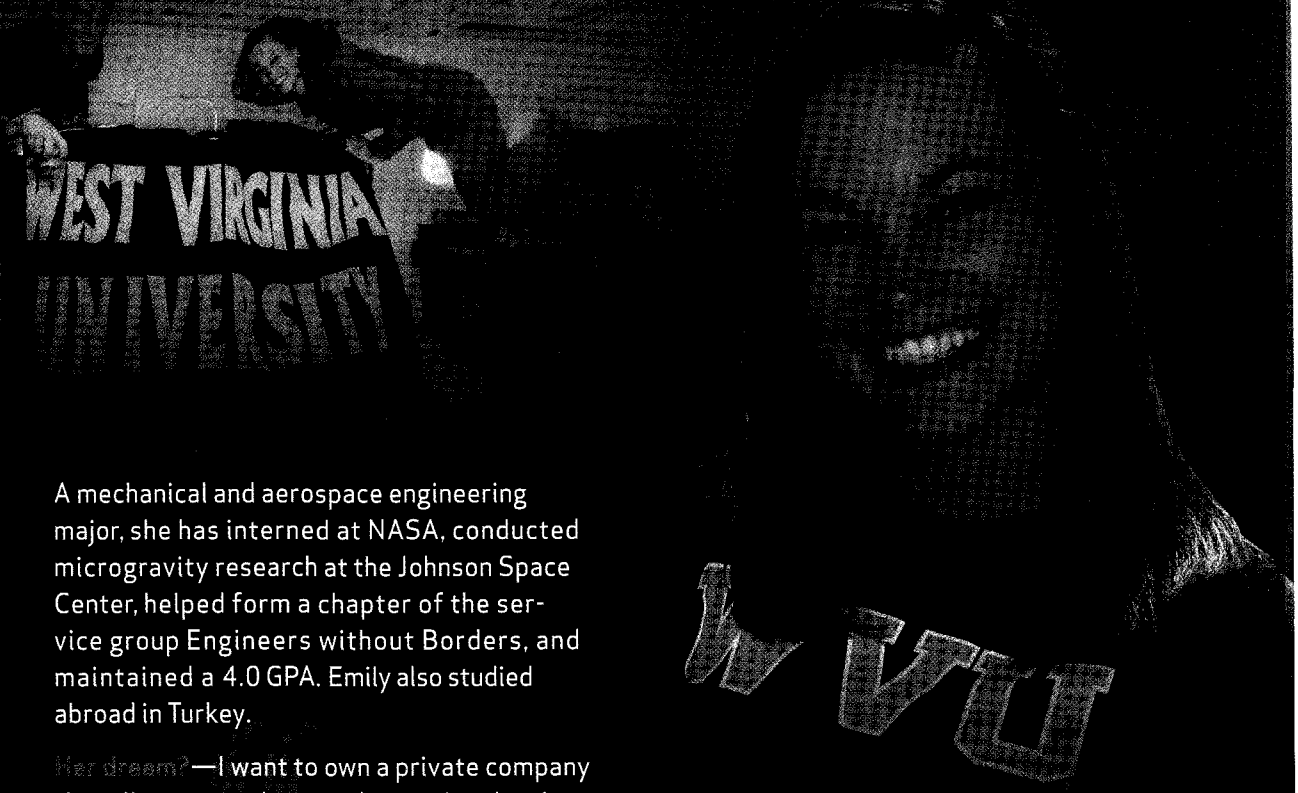
- Honors College
- Skydiver
- Pilot-in-training

Emily with classmate Corey Snyder on NASA's "Weightless Wonder" aircraft



A mechanical and aerospace engineering major, she has interned at NASA, conducted microgravity research at the Johnson Space Center, helped form a chapter of the service group Engineers without Borders, and maintained a 4.0 GPA. Emily also studied abroad in Turkey.

Her dream?—I want to own a private company that allows everyday people to enjoy the view of Earth beyond our atmosphere.

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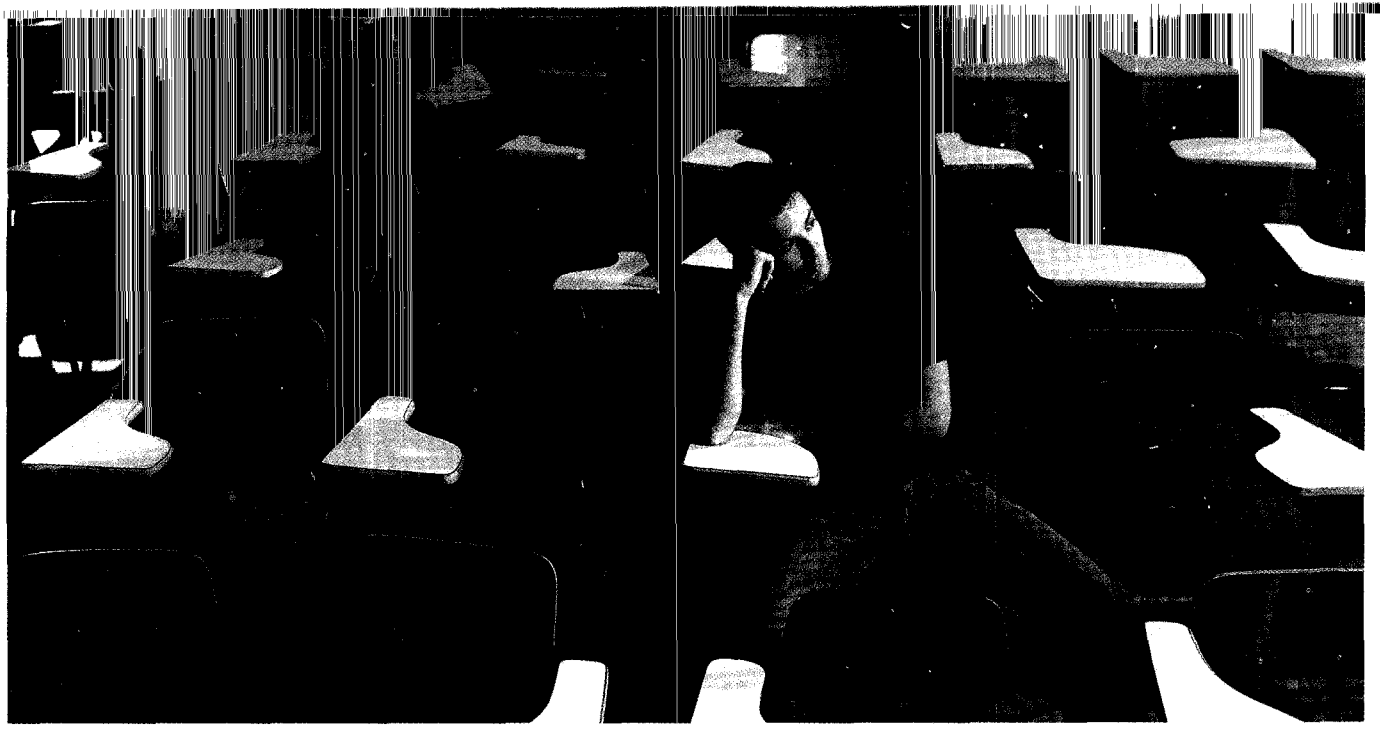

Higher Ed's Bermuda Triangle

Vast numbers of students enter community college remedial classes every year. Few are ever heard from again.

By Camille Esch

Treating children that way is like giving a lion their food without making them hunt for it.

Jacinth Thomas-Val writes the sentence on the blackboard in her classroom at Sacramento City College, then asks her students what's wrong with it. "What does 'them' refer to in this sentence?" she asks one young woman. The young woman doesn't know, shakes her head, then gets up and leaves the classroom without explanation, not returning for the rest of the period.

More times than she can remember, Thomas-Val has explained that pronouns need to match the word or phrase to which they refer. But the students in English-Writing 40, the lowest-level writing class that her community college offers, make these same basic mistakes week after week. Thomas-Val presses on, erasing "a lion" and changing it to "lions." One young woman in the front row—clearly the eager, outspoken type—starts to get it, and asks how to fix a similar sentence in the essay she's just gotten back. But as Thomas-Val tries to explain, the back of the class dissolves into hushed talking and texting. Thomas-Val gently pulls them back to attention, but by the time she does, she needs to get the students started on their next essay assignment, a task that will consume the rest of the eighty-minute class. So she moves on.

Sacramento City is a typical California community college: its students are primarily minority, low income, and go to school part-time. Eighty-five percent of them arrive needing what are called remediation classes, courses like Thomas-Val's English-Writing 40. Remediation classes are designed to bring students up to the level needed to get started on the college's actual curriculum, to close the growing gap between what students have to know at the outset of college and what they learn in California's crumbling high school system—or, for older students, basic skills they may have once had but have lost in their years out of school.

This willingness to offer opportunities and second chances to disadvantaged students, opportunities that aren't

Hans Neleman

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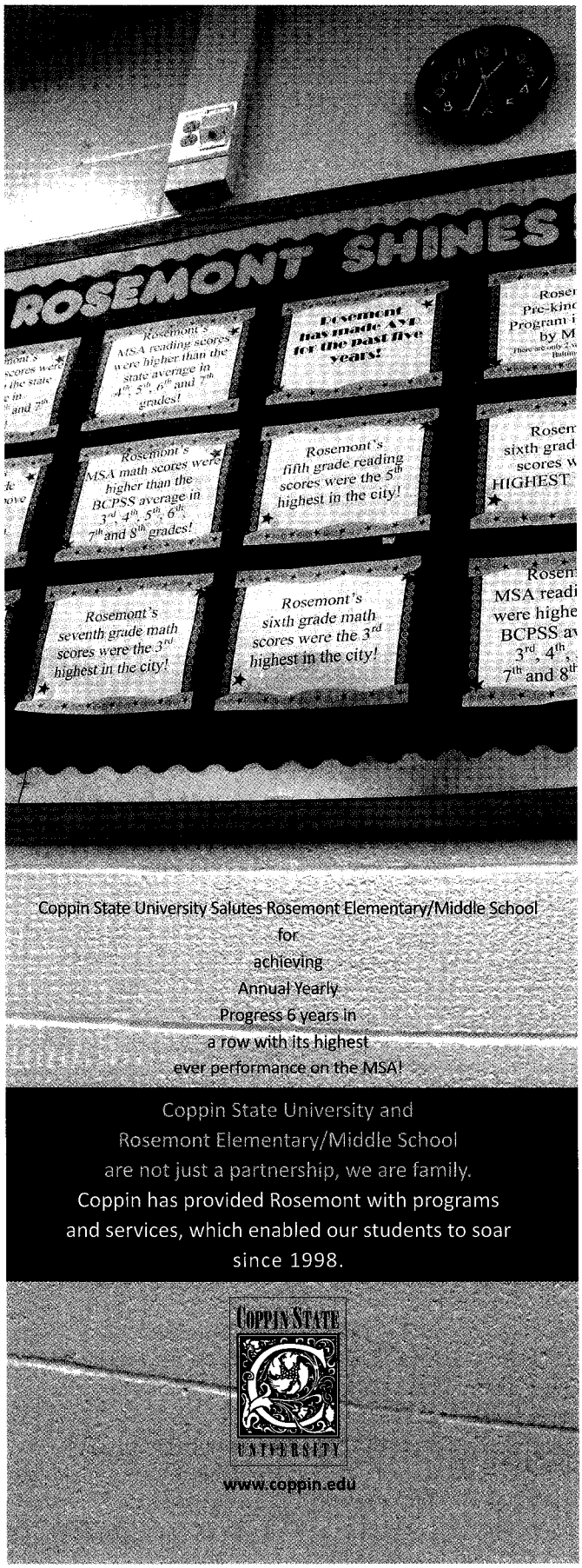
available in many other countries, is what first appealed to Thomas-Val—herself an immigrant from Antigua—about American community colleges. But in her decades of teaching, she has been shocked at just *how* unprepared most of her students are, how little they know—and how hard it is to help them. "It's unbelievable, just totally unbelievable," she says. Of their writing, she says, "It's filled with all kinds of sentence-level errors. Not knowing how to join sentences or where sentence boundaries are. Capitalization problems. Stuff like that that you learned in grade school, or should have." Faced with these circumstances, Thomas-Val has adjusted her own expectations. "Let's say I have fifty students this semester," she says, "and five of them do exceedingly well. I am *so* grateful for the five. [For] the other forty-five, yes, my heart breaks, but I think, 'Oh, I've got *five*!'"

The odds for Thomas-Val's students are indeed formidable. Only 60 percent of the community college's 3,000 remedial students pass their classes with a C or higher. Those who go looking for help at Sacramento City will face a mélange of disconnected programs and services. The college's academic counseling center is badly understaffed, and most of the tutoring available on campus is provided by other students. A recent state initiative provided some extra dollars for remediation, which the college spent adding student tutors and a few instructors here and there, in a process one administrator calls "hodge-podgey." In such an environment, there are limits to what even a well-meaning professor like Thomas-Val, or her more enterprising students, can do.

Thomas-Val is standing astride what is perhaps the leakiest juncture in the pipeline of American higher education, a pipeline that has unquestionably seen better days. America is losing its lead in higher ed: while other countries are turning out ever increasing numbers of college graduates, the U.S. has stalled. But the problem isn't just getting high school graduates into college—about 70 percent of them already enroll. It's getting them to finish it. Only about half of American enrollees leave college with a degree, putting us behind at least ten other developed nations in educational attainment, according to a recent report by the Brookings Institution.

Where exactly we're losing all of these students is unclear. But the best place to start looking is community college, and specifically those schools' remediation programs. Nearly half of all students seeking college degrees start at community colleges, and of those, a large percentage—estimates put it around 60 percent—must take remedial classes. Remedial students run a high risk of dropping out and not graduating; one robust study found that only 30 percent complete all of their remedial math coursework, and fewer than one in four remedial students makes it all the way to completing a college degree. Students who need remediation drop out at worse rates than community college students who don't, and the more remedial classes they need to take, the less likely they are to stay in school.



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There's a chicken-and-the-egg element to this, of course. Getting through two years of college is extremely hard for a student with fifth-grade skills—it may be too much to expect from many of them, even with the best help. So it's difficult to tell what exactly the grim remedial statistics say: Is the gulf between the students' abilities and the most basic requirements of college simply too wide? Or are the programs failing?

We don't know, and therein lies the problem. Community college remediation is the Bermuda Triangle of the higher education system—vast numbers of students enter, and for all intents and purposes disappear. We have almost no hard evidence about what works and what doesn't in remediation, and almost no one—policymakers, researchers, and administrators—has tried to figure it out in any systematic way. The reason for this is a combination of unjustly scant resources, huge gaps in data, and sometimes a sense of fatalism—or, worse, denial—that keeps state and school leaders from making it a priority. Meanwhile, the situation is likely to get worse before it gets better. Jobs requiring a college education are on the rise, and the labor market continues to pay a premium for college-educated workers. Students who wouldn't have gone past high school a few decades ago are now heading to college—especially community college—but they're not remotely prepared.

"Let's say I have fifty students this semester," Jacinth Thomas-Val says, "and five of them do exceedingly well. I am so grateful for the five. For the other forty-five, yes, my heart breaks, but I think, 'Oh, I've got five!'"

But this trend also offers real opportunities. Even if community college remediation programs can simply go from terrible outcomes to mediocre ones—if, for instance, the programs were able to meet the needs of even just the top half of remedial students—the aggregate nationwide impact could be an additional 150,000 college graduates per year. The Obama administration is aware of this potential, and is looking to community colleges to help the U.S. out of the economic crisis and meet our longer-term needs for more college graduates. In July, President Obama announced a new America Graduation Initiative that calls for an additional five million community college graduates by 2020.

Meeting this goal is a tall order. But too few policymakers are willing to take the first steps: stop trying to educate the most academically challenged students on the cheap, and insist on community colleges having a stake in whether or not their students succeed. The colleges that have already started to take this kind of responsibility show that such an investment can pay off. If we don't fix the pipeline where it's leaking most, even the best-laid plans for revitalizing the workforce with college graduates will amount to little.

Although 6.5 million undergrads attend them, community colleges have long held a marginal position in America's higher education system. They receive less funding, less media attention, and fewer philanthropic gifts than their four-year cousins, even as they are saddled with the hard, messy job of delivering on the American promise that everyone who wants to should be able to go to college. While K–12 school systems and universities have clear missions, community colleges are simply tasked with doing everything the other systems don't: getting underprepared students ready for universities, providing job-specific training and certificates, and offering a wide range of basic education for adults—everything from English to word processing to physical education.

While states are quick to pile new missions and responsibilities onto community colleges, they are less quick to fund them: nationwide, the schools get less than half per student of what four-year public research universities get in state and local funds. This is in spite of the fact that community college students comprise one of the fastest-growing sectors in American higher education, swelling with low-income and first-generation college-goers looking for courses that are cheaper, more accessible, and more flexibly scheduled than those on offer at the typical four-year college.

The problems this situation poses are thrown into particularly sharp relief in California, the home of the nation's largest community college system, which serves 2.8 million students on 110 campuses. California's system was intended as a gateway to higher education when the state developed its "Master Plan" for higher education in 1960. While the state's public four-year universities accepted the top-performing third of high school graduates, the community colleges would accept everyone else. The idea was that students could start college close to home and at a low price, then transfer their credits to a four-year university to complete a bachelor's degree. California's plan was widely considered to be a model social policy at the time of its inception: the system provided opportunity to anyone who was interested, without sacrificing quality for those who were exceptional.

But California's Master Plan was drafted with an eye to the needs of a state which, demographically speaking, no longer exists. It was designed basically for "white kids in the fifties," says Dr. Robert Gabriner, a former president of

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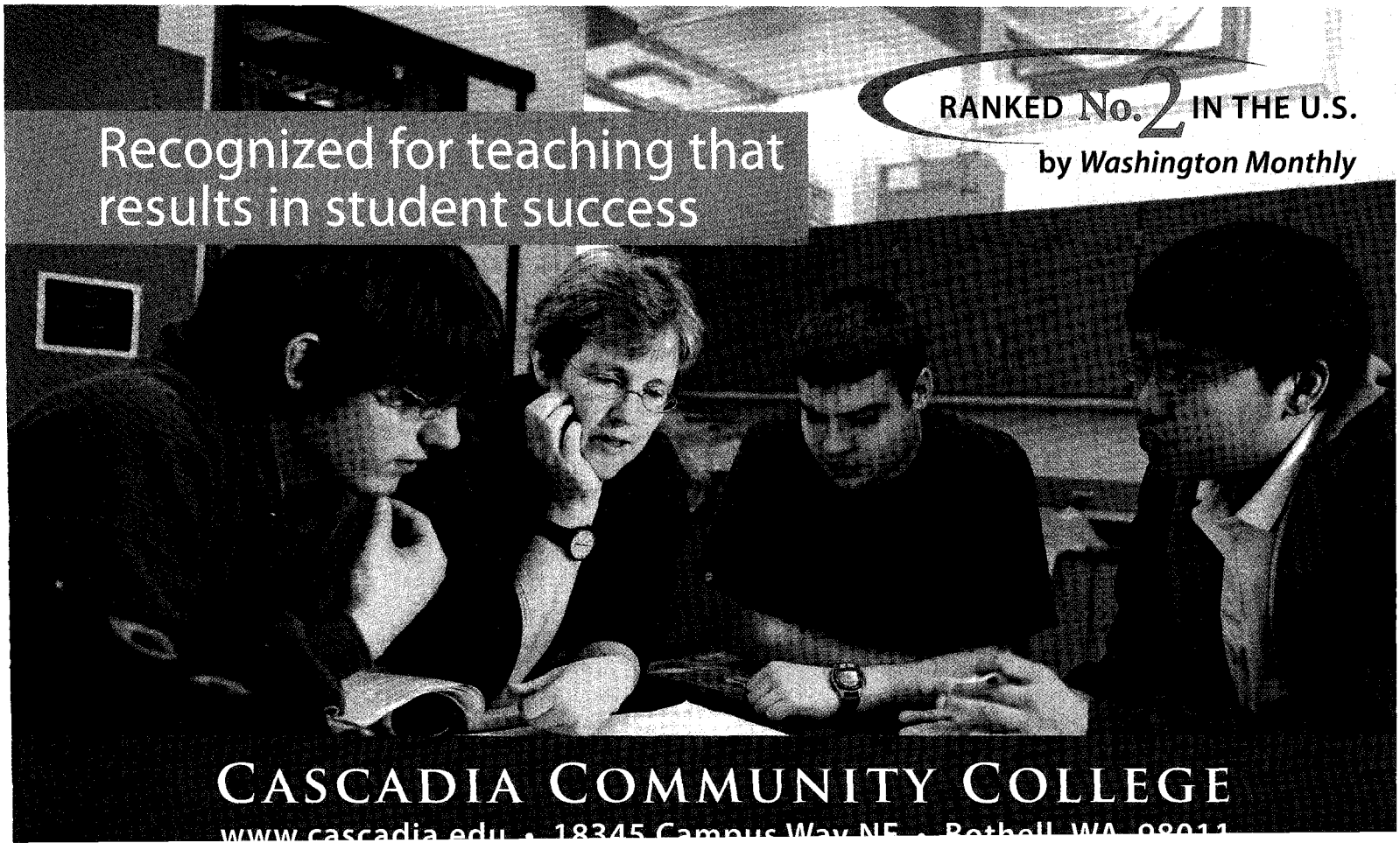
the Research & Planning Group for California Community Colleges. "And being a white kid from the fifties, I can tell you that was pretty good." In 1960, only a fifth of college-age Californians went to college, and the state's K–12 school system did a relatively good job of preparing that top band of students for it. But in the subsequent half century, immigration and swelling birthrates brought California a younger and more diverse population, which the state's K–12 public schools never adapted to. Over the same period of time, the labor market shifted toward industries that needed more highly educated workers, and the number of students who aspired to attend college rose accordingly. Meanwhile, a series of ballot initiatives and court decisions changed how California schools were funded, gutting and destabilizing school funding just as educational needs were growing.

Because California's four-year universities were reserved for the top third of high school graduates, the weight of this unfortunate confluence of trends fell mostly on the state's community colleges. The schools were flooded with new students who were emerging underprepared, and in ever larger numbers, from the K–12 system. Community college enrollment grew elevenfold between 1960 and 2005, but funding levels didn't keep pace with the colleges' educational challenges or their growing importance to the state's system of higher education. Per student, community colleges get less than a third of what's allotted for the state's prestigious University of California four-year schools. Community colleges are required to accept virtually anyone interested in higher education, no matter how unprepared, and today an astonishing 84 percent of incoming California community college students don't qualify to take college-level math classes that can count toward a four-year degree (in English, it's over 70 percent).

As the level of education students brought with them to community college fell, the colleges began leaning more and more heavily on their remediation classes. As the number of students needing remediation increased, so too did the number of classes, faculty, and support services outside of class to help them. But the system developed in piecemeal fashion at most campuses, incorporating disconnected programs and disparate pots of money over the years. The programs have gotten bigger, but not better, suffering a particularly acute form of the neglect and vagueness of mission that plagues the community college system as a whole.

To make matters worse, most colleges haven't spent a lot of time examining just how well their remedial programs are working. Lacking the kind of testing systems found in K–12, community colleges can't systematically determine how much students are learning in remedial education or pinpoint areas of weakness in the courses. Many regular college faculty just try to ignore the problem, while remedial instructors are often adjunct faculty rather than tenured or full-time professors. They're sometimes called "freeway fliers" because they cobble together jobs at mul-



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tiple colleges; even the most committed among them have limited time for students and few opportunities to improve their own teaching.

Colleges offer support services like drop-in tutoring and academic counseling for remedial students, but they don't do enough to encourage students to use them, and the students—who tend to be passively engaged in their education, and aren't used to advocating for themselves—often don't seek them out. Even if more students did take advantage of the services, many colleges wouldn't have the resources to provide them, and the quality of the help in many cases is spotty. At Sacramento City College, the student-to-counselor ratio is reportedly 900 to 1, and some students told me they'd just as soon ask their friends for advice on what courses to take.

The maze of remediation programs and services worsens what is already a harsh environment for community college students, who are in many cases the first in their families to attend college and arrive on campus with little notion of how to navigate the educational bureaucracy. Students commute to school, and many attend part-time and sign up for classes online without consulting anyone from the college. They also forge few relationships with their classmates. "I drive to school, go to class, and leave," says Nadine Brown, a student from Sacramento who's tried two different community colleges so far. "That's about it." The lack of stickiness makes it easy for students to slip away, and often drop out for good. No one calls to say, "What happened to you?"

Community colleges receive funding based on the number of students that enroll, not the number that finish—helping students get over the remediation hurdle costs schools money, but doesn't get them any more of it.

Community colleges have little incentive to do better, thanks to poorly structured state policies. Colleges receive funding based on the number of students that enroll, rather than the number that actually complete courses or graduate—helping students get over the remediation hurdle costs schools money, but doesn't get them any more of it from state coffers.

In the absence of leadership, California's community college system has developed an inertia all its own. The stakeholders with the greatest influence on the schools' governance are the multiple employee associations and unions that have a natural interest in maintaining the status quo. These groups have generally resisted state-led efforts to standardize practices or change the way community colleges do their business, bristling at the idea of being compared—much less penalized—on the basis of student outcomes.

This resistance is grounded in some legitimate concerns about fairness. Sacramento City College's dean of planning, research, and institutional effectiveness, Dr. Marybeth Buechner, argues that expecting colleges to transfer students into four-year schools who enter far below college level is like "an oncologist who's slapped because their patients sometimes die." But it has ultimately led the community college system to choose reporting practices that obscure the dropout problem while allowing everyone from legislators to college presidents and deans to evade responsibility for the part of the problem that is correctable. For example, the college system's official measure of student progress and achievement inflates success rates by considering the performance of an unreasonably narrow cohort of students, the ones who have already enrolled in a math or English class above the remedial level and have completed at least four classes of any kind. Everyone else—about 60 percent of the actual student population—is deemed not to be a serious degree seeker and is dropped from the calculation altogether. By this generous methodology, 52 percent of California's degree-seeking community college students achieve their goals or demonstrate progress toward them. But independent efforts to track the success of a larger group of students that could reasonably be assumed to be degree seekers—60 percent of them, by one credible estimate—suggest a far less rosy picture, in which only a quarter to a third of students who want to transfer or finish a one- or two-year degree program actually do.

These numbers are hugely contentious in community college circles. One unflattering study, published in 2007 by Nancy Shulock, the executive director of the Institute for Higher Education Leadership & Policy at California State University, Sacramento, set off a firestorm among insiders and the local media, and made her persona non grata throughout California's community college system. Even midlevel campus bureaucrats have a surprisingly thorough knowledge of Shulock's work, and will readily argue why her calculations are wrong. (Meanwhile, the fear of being "Shulocked"—becoming the object of intense scrutiny and personal criticism—appears to have spread among critics and observers of the system. More than one researcher I spoke to was very leery of revealing numbers or analyses that cast a negative light on the community colleges.)

Arguments over who's right tend to hinge on a debate over what exactly community colleges should be held

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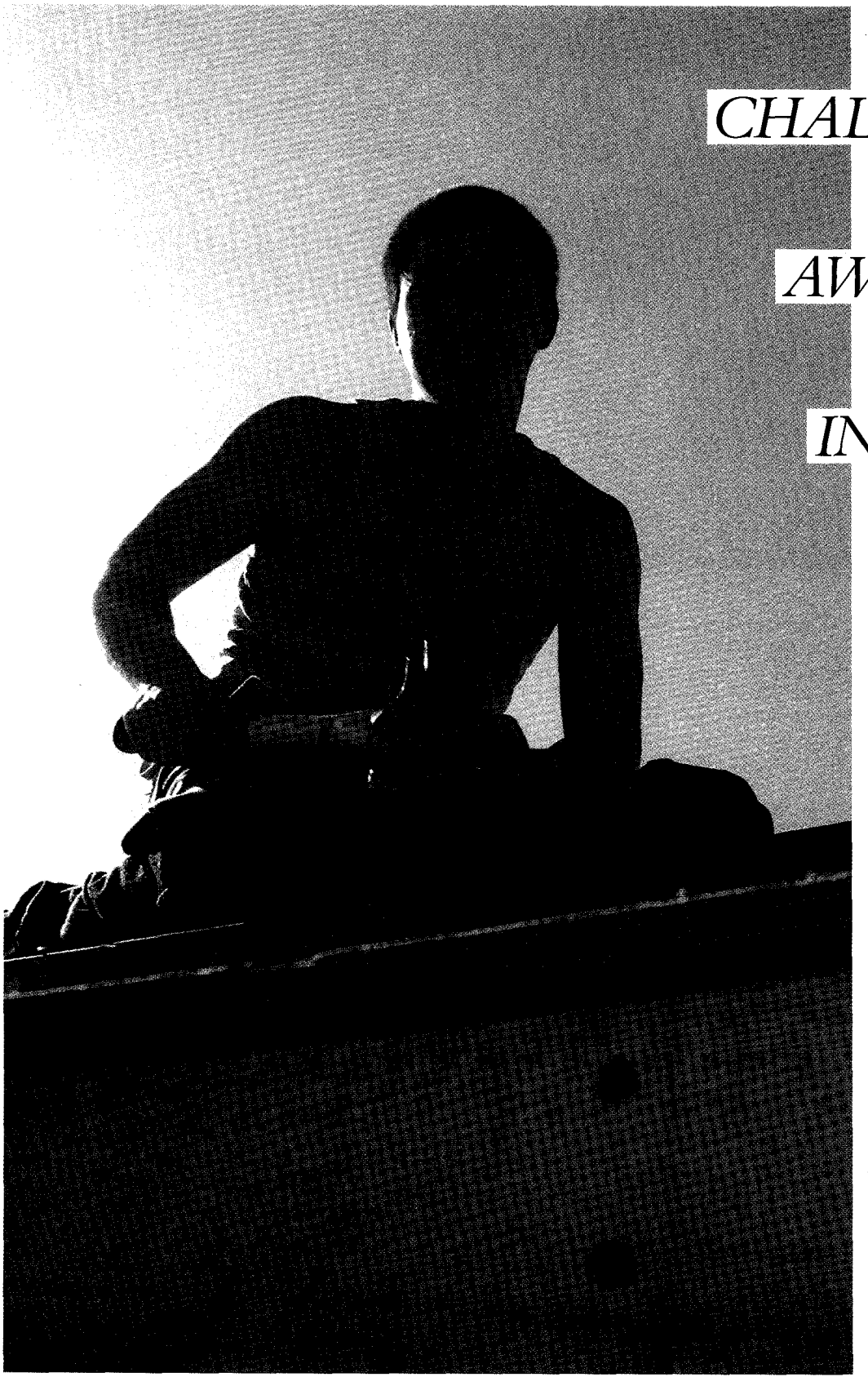

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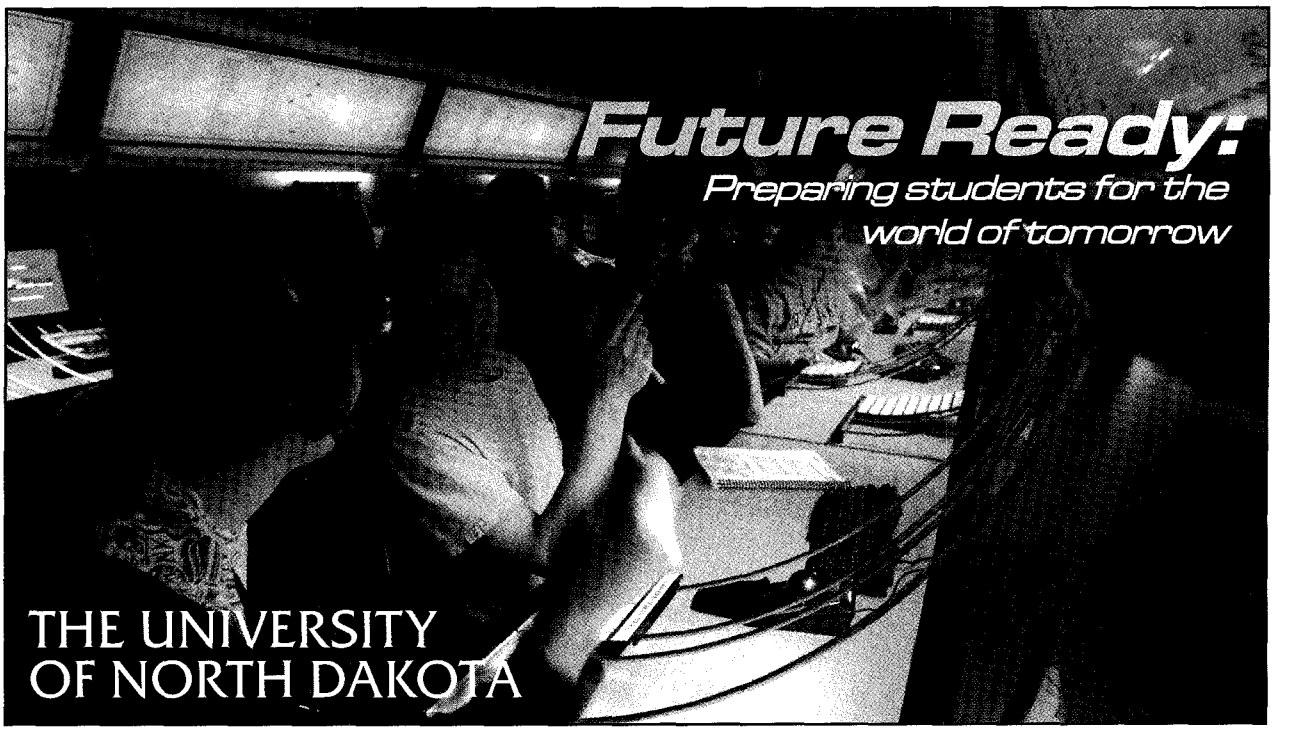
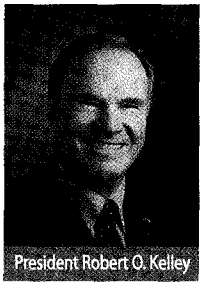


National Basketball Association winningest coach Phil Jackson, astronaut Karen Nyberg, GameStop CEO Dick Fontaine, Buffalo Wild Wings President Sally Smith: They are among the 100,000-plus graduates of the University of North Dakota who exemplify the creative, innovative and entrepreneurial spirit that characterizes the Grand Forks-based university and its graduates.

Recognized for entrepreneurship by the *Princeton Review* and *Entrepreneur* magazine, UND was one of the first five universities in the nation to create a business incubator program to nurture new, home-grown enterprises. UND's College of Business and Public Administration is home to the nation's only student-run venture fund, which helps students learn how to invest with real dollars.

"The Dakota Venture Group is a great example of what we call Future Ready: preparing students to thrive in and create the world of today and tomorrow. It is also a great example of UND's student-centered approach," said UND President Robert O. Kelley. "We have nearly 300 student organizations, and each academic unit provides a variety of ways in which our nearly 13,000 students can engage in service learning and develop as leaders. Our globally respected research faculty — like JianLong Zhang, an atmospheric sciences professor named by President Obama as one of the top 100 new researchers in the nation — create a well-rounded, balanced education that fosters superior critical thinking and communication skills."


President Robert O. Kelley

Those skills are the foundation of UND's 200 academic programs, especially the liberal arts and creative programs in the College of Arts and Sciences, said Kelley. "That's the heart of the University of North Dakota. That's where the students learn to learn, where they become more creative."

Entrepreneurial Spirit and Innovation

UND faculty, students and staff also are innovative and entrepreneurial. With several buildings and the largest non-military training fleet in the world, UND's John D. Odegard School of Aerospace Sciences is one of, if not THE, nation's most respected aviation programs. It is emerging nationally as a Center of Excellence in Unmanned Aerial Systems.

UND has a $1 billion economic impact on the state, in part because of $100 million in external funding and an expansion in research fueled by a rapidly growing Graduate School. Many UND projects blend cutting-edge technologies with North Dakota's agricultural heritage and economy. Faculty and students at the School of Engineering and Mines, for example, are developing biofuel made from soybeans. And several departments in UND's schools of engineering and aerospace sciences collaborated to develop AgCam, an advanced camera now on the International Space Station to examine water, soil and crops.

AgCam was UND's hat trick (a school with seven national hockey championships tends to talk in "hockeyspeak") in space. Materials designed by UND's Energy & Environmental Research Center — primarily of silicon carbide — were taken up for tests exposing them to the harsh space environment. Last summer, UND mechanical engineering graduate Karen Nyberg flew to the International Space Station and was instrumental in deploying and testing new equipment and systems.

More earthbound, but no less innovative, projects have included the first hydrogen-powered car produced by college students, new ways of conducting research through digital humanities, and advances in the study of drug addiction and neurodegenerative diseases such as Parkinson's, Alzheimer's, Lou Gehrig's, multiple sclerosis, and others.

UND is home to the state's only medical school, cited as the best in the country for producing family medicine physicians. The School of Medicine and Health Sciences is nationally recognized for its patient-centered learning, community-based approach, and leadership in rural health and preventive care. The special healthcare challenges of this region are also a focus of the College of Nursing. UND also has the state's only School of Law. The law school and its faculty have a national reputation, particularly in areas such as Indian law and Indian gaming.

UND's College of Education and Human Development has been a leader in adapting technology to prepare students for their careers. Many of the region's school and university administrators and teachers, and helping professionals, such as counselors, social workers, and recreation and leisure leaders, are graduates of UND.

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accountable for when it comes to student performance. Administrators point out that many people who enroll in community college do not necessarily aspire to earn a degree, and that it's unfair to expect them to graduate students who are there merely for short-term job training or a one-time refresher course. In fact, California community colleges do collect information from entering students about their intentions, but many administrators disregard it on the assumption that students don't know much about college or how hard it will be to reach their stated goals.

California's community college troubles are not unique to the state; underfunding is a nationwide problem and in many states two-year colleges are facing budget cuts in the coming year. The need for remediation is not unique to California's students either, or to particular racial or ethnic groups—it's a sad fact of American education that low incomes and low educational skills go hand in hand, regardless of other circumstances.

Faced with all this, even well-meaning community college personnel often evince a fatalism about their work, focusing more on students' deficiencies and who's to blame—the K–12 system, poverty, bad parents—than on what the college can do about them. "Community colleges are open access," one Sacramento City College administrator told me. "Students can come here whether or not we have courses that are appropriate for them. We get students who *can't read*. That blows me away! My curriculum is not designed to teach someone how to read."

But despite the seemingly intractable nature of the remediation problem, some community colleges are managing to achieve a measure of success. A decade ago, a small group of faculty and administrators at Chaffey College, a large school serving primarily minority students in Rancho Cucamonga, California, grew alarmed at the rising remediation needs of incoming students, 70 percent of whom were placing below college level. Realizing that underprepared students were now the norm rather than the exception, the Chaffey team decided to revamp their entire approach to remediation, first by throwing out the word itself—opting for "foundational skills" instead—and by rethinking it as a schoolwide approach that extended beyond a particular subset of classes. They also framed the entire mission as a "moral imperative" for their college. "We decided not to talk about whose fault it is, because it doesn't matter," says Laura Hope, interim dean of instructional support at Chaffey. "That discussion is a waste of time."

Armed with this notion of responsibility to, rather than simply tolerance of, underprepared students, the group shut down Chaffey's old-style tutoring center, where students went for help only once they'd started to fail and which focused on helping students get past a particular essay or test, rather than learning skills that could be transferred to new situations. Instead, the college opened several centers that offered students supplementary lessons and learning activities that were linked to the students' actual class work and were codeveloped by the classes' instructors. The idea was to extend the reach of the classroom and offer extra instruction that faculty members simply didn't have time to do themselves—a far more coordinated and intensive approach than the typical drop-in tutoring.

There was some resistance from the "recalcitrant tribal elders," says Hope—another faculty member described them as "old dinosaurs who would rather bitch about their students"—but it didn't take long for lots of faculty members to buy into the idea. For once, teachers could reach out to someone else on campus for help with specific problems they had in the classroom.

In the state's official progress report, Chaffey does not stand out as a superstar. But one outside researcher found that Chaffey—which has the ninth largest remedial population in California's community college system—was improving more than almost any other college in the state when it comes to getting students through remediation and into regular college-level courses. That rate has steadily improved by over 2 percent annually, meaning an additional 150 students make it through to college-level classes each year. The vast majority of colleges have been stagnant on this measure, or even slid back a bit, but Chaffey has made steady progress in the right direction—a real victory in what is sure to be a long war.

So far, Obama's higher education initiatives are focused on the right things: more resources for community colleges, a focus on completion, strengthening data and research, and improving remedial education for underprepared students. But it's hard to say what real impact they will have.

It's unreasonable to hold community colleges responsible for moving every incoming student with fifth-grade skills toward graduation. What we can reasonably aim for, however, is a system in which more schools perform like Chaffey—in which the schools that currently do the best

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job of approaching those goals are the standard, rather than the exception. If all of California's community colleges were improving at the same rate as Chaffey, 25,000 more students would pass into college-level classes over two years' time. It's not a sea change, but it's nothing to sneeze at, either.

Community colleges don't have an obligation to work miracles, but they do have an obligation to do better—to ensure quality teaching and academic counseling, to pay close attention to student outcomes, to try new approaches when the old ones obviously aren't working. States and college systems have an obligation to push community colleges that are less enthusiastic than Chaffey to embrace this mindset, by adopting policies that reward innovation, penalize complacency, and require transparent measurement of student performance.

Increasingly, it seems, the federal government is taking this view. So far, Obama's higher education initiatives are focused on the right things: more resources for community colleges, a focus on completion, strengthening data and research, and improving remedial education for underprepared students. His American Graduation Initiative proposal calls for an unprecedented federal investment in community colleges—$12 billion over the next decade—by way of grants to innovative states and colleges and support for much-needed infrastructure, including research and facilities. A related report from Obama's Council of Economic Advisers went further, recommending that postsecondary programs and institutions "should have an incentive to continually improve and should be held accountable for their results." Obama has also made a smart move by naming a well-respected former California community college chancellor, Martha J. Kanter, as his undersecretary of education.

Community colleges don't have an obligation to work miracles, but they do have an obligation to do better—to pay close attention to student outcomes, to try new approaches when the old ones obviously aren't working.

But it's hard to say what real impact his initiative will have. Primarily, the plan will provide resources in the form of competitive grants to colleges and states—an approach that won't help much in colleges with little capacity to start with and in states with weak central leadership, where the money may not be enough to wrangle all stakeholders into line. Critics also argue that it's not all that much money (annually only 4 percent of total government expenditures on community colleges nationwide) and that none of it will go toward the colleges' biggest problem of all: insufficient general funds. The initiative also falls short of establishing a true "performance measurement system" of the kind recommended in a recent report by the Brookings Institution, which would provide clearly defined goals for student outcomes and standard ways of measuring progress toward them.

Given what's at stake economically, we should be looking much more closely at what value community colleges add and demanding that they do more. For decades, states have refused to confront the obvious: the decision to funnel the most academically at-risk students into colleges that receive the fewest resources has turned out to be something of a disaster. And both policymakers and community college administrators have indulged in the polite fiction that community colleges are not so different from four-year institutions, and accordingly deserve the same autonomy and academic freedom. But this laissez-faire attitude ignores the degree to which community colleges' remedial programs—if not the rest of the colleges' curricula—is functionally more like high school. There is plenty of disagreement about the use of test-based accountability in higher education, but the place where it should be least debatable is remedial education. Though teachers and students tend not to like testing—and there are plenty of ways to do it wrong—there is little argument that better assessment would help us know more about remedial students' skill levels, how much they're growing, and how to serve these students better.

As the relative value of the high school diploma has declined, more students want and deserve a real shot at a college education, and for many low-income people, that shot will begin at a community college. The first step is to embrace a new kind of American college student. The next is to invest in and reform the institutions that serve those students. That will mean hard work and focused attention from teachers, administrators, and elected officials at the highest levels of government—the same virtues we demand of community college students themselves. At her class at Sacramento City College, Jacinth Thomas-Val begins each day by providing her students with an inspirational quote, one of which reads: "The will to persevere is often the difference between success and failure." Let's practice what we preach. WM

Camille Esch directs the California Education Program at the New America Foundation, a nonpartisan public policy think tank. This project was done with the assistance of an associate fellowship with the Hechinger Institute on Education and the Media.

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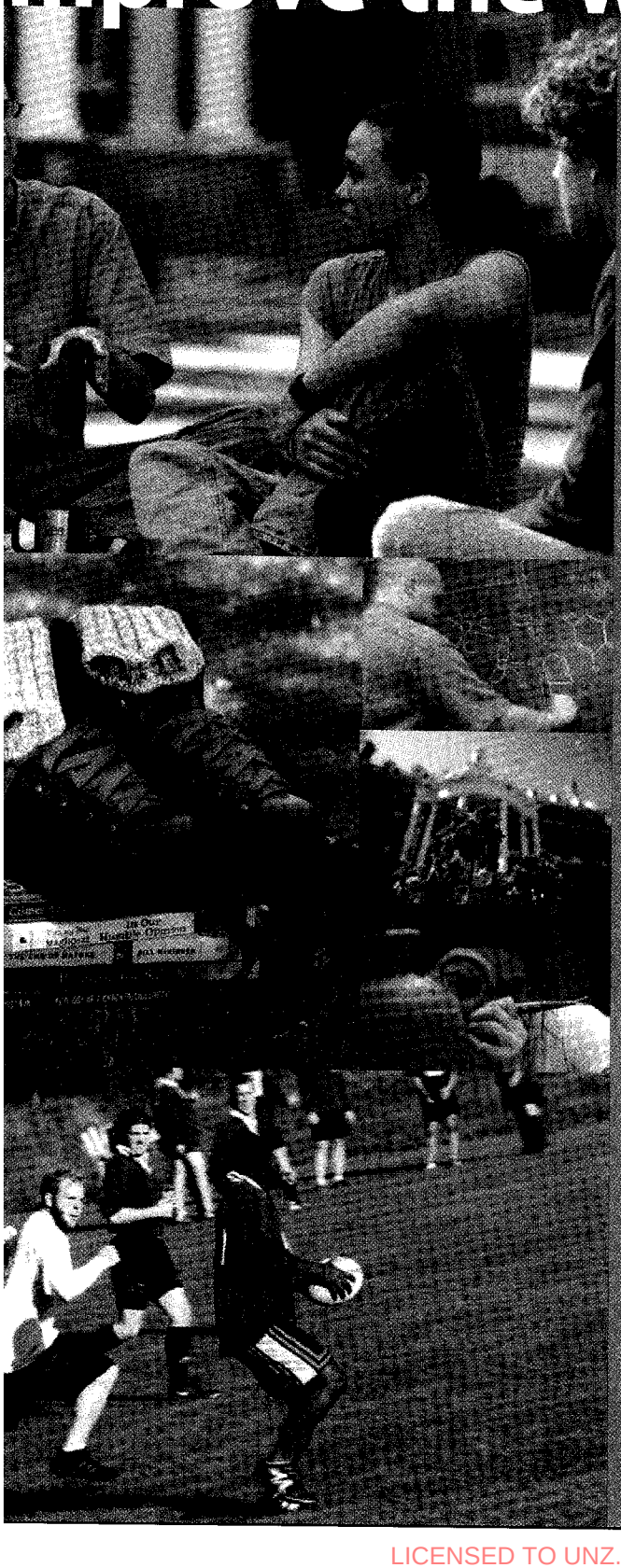

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Meet the Competition: Students at Shanghai Jiao Tong University, which produced the first comprehensive global college rankings—part of a trend that is challenging the supremacy of America's higher education system.

International Studies

How America's mania for college rankings went global.

By Ben Wildavsky

Five years ago, Hashim Yaacob, the vice chancellor of the University of Malaya, was on top of the world. In a recently published international ranking of universities, UM had placed eighty-ninth among 200 top institutions. This was a big deal, not only for the university, but for Malaysia as a whole—for a country that was bent on creating a knowledge economy, it was a nice validation of the progress it had made. Yaacob ordered banners reading "UM a world's top 100 university" and had them hung around that city.

UM's moment of glory was fleeting—one year long, to be exact. When the next international ranking came out, UM had plummeted, from eighty-ninth to 169th. In reality, universities don't change that much from year to year. And indeed, UM's drop turned out to be caused by a decline in a questionable measure of its reputation, plus the discovery and correction of an error the university itself had made. After the drop, UM was pilloried in the Malaysian press, and widespread calls for a royal commission of inquiry into the unfortunate episode followed. Within a few months, the vice chancellor, who had been vilified in the media, was effectively fired when he was not reappointed to a new term.

The instrument of Yaacob's rise and fall was a periodical called the *Times Higher Education Supplement*, published by Rupert Murdoch's News Corp (until a 2005 ownership change). For the past five years the newspaper has offered a ranking of universities around the world in a more-or-less open effort to duplicate internationally what *U.S. News & World Report* has done in the American higher education market. The impetus for the rankings was straightforward: "Particularly where research is concerned," John O'Leary, the creator of the *Times Higher* rankings and the publication's former editor, explained

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in an essay accompanying a recent installment, "Oxford and Cambridge are as likely to compare themselves with Harvard and Princeton as with other UK [institutions]." Universities are operating "at a time of unprecedented international mobility both by students and by academics"; furthermore, "governments all around the world have expressed an ambition to have at least one university among the international elite."

Although *Times Higher Education*, as the publication is now called, wasn't the first effort at producing international rankings, it has become the most controversial; its assessment of the global university pecking order is widely read not only among university administrators and students, but among government officials and politicians keen to assess their place in a world where educational achievement is a proxy for power. And for understandable reasons. Like most other economic sectors, higher education is fast becoming a global enterprise. Students and professors hopscotch from nation to nation more than ever. Western universities set up branch campuses in Asia and the Middle East, catering to huge demand for the best diplomas. In places like South Korea, Saudi Arabia, France, and Germany, a fierce race is in progress to create world-class research universities. *Times Higher* is now one of the chief de facto arbiters of who's winning the knowledge industry competition.

In America, however, relatively few people have heard of the *Times Higher* rankings, even in academia. That's partly the result of our famous insularity, partly the dominant place the *U.S. News* rankings still occupy in American higher education. Mostly, though, it's due to a sense of invulnerability. American universities remain the unquestioned leaders in research and the top destination for international students. The biggest brand names among them routinely dominate the upper echelons of international rankings like *Times Higher*. We know we're great.

Yet in this new world of mobility and competition, challenges to America's educational primacy are inevitable—and international rankings are the means by which those challenges are most likely to arrive. Indeed, a process is already under way to expand international rankings beyond the metrics of reputation and research—in which U.S. schools do extremely well—to include measures of classroom learning. That could lead to some surprises for top dogs such as the United States, not to mention for other nations whose overall performance educating students and preparing graduates for the workforce may not match their justly admired strengths in other areas.

This shaking up of existing hierarchies—if it occurs—could be both traumatic and useful for the American higher education system. Rankings, for all their shortcomings, have the potential to be a very useful consumer tool in a border-free educational world. Done well, they can expose weaknesses in research, highlight lackluster classroom teaching, and give universities—including sometimes complacent American institutions—incentives to build the research and human capital on which so much innovation and economic growth depends. Global education markets, just like other markets, need information to function efficiently. But it needs to be the *right* information.

Colleges have never much liked the idea of being ranked. When *U.S. News & World Report* published its first full-fledged guide to colleges in 1987 a delegation of college presidents and senior administrators met with the magazine's editors and asked that the ranking enterprise be stopped. Purely numerical indicators were an inappropriate way to measure the varied institutions and missions of American higher education, they argued. During my two-year tenure as editor of *U.S. News*'s annual undergrad and graduate rankings issues, part of my job entailed dealing with similarly unhappy administrators, who regularly visited our office to complain about the treatment they received in our rankings. Some made it pretty clear that they thought outsiders—especially journalists—shouldn't be ranking colleges at all. Others took exception to one or more aspects of the *U.S. News* methodology.

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Such complaints were hardly disinterested—we rarely heard them from universities that fared well in the rankings, who trumpeted the results on their Web sites. But the disgruntled administrators did have a point. The *U.S. News* rankings depend heavily on a survey of college and university presidents and administrators, who are asked their opinions on the quality of their own and other institutions. Whether these individuals have enough knowledge to accurately judge the quality

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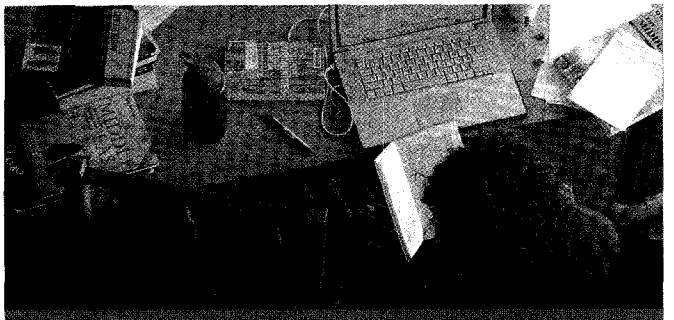

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of other schools or are just circulating the conventional wisdom is a fair question (although if they are behaving ethically they are supposed to simply follow the magazine's instructions and avoid rating any school they don't know much about). The rankings also rely on a plethora of more objective measures, such as faculty salaries, average class size, graduation rates, and the SAT scores of incoming freshmen. But while these are defensible stand-ins for excellence (and I defended them) they are mostly measures of inputs—what human and financial resources go into a university rather than what educational results come out. To truly judge educational quality requires also measuring outputs—specifically, how much students actually learn in the classroom, particularly at the undergraduate level. Such data exists, albeit in limited quantities, and *U.S. News* has tried to get it. But colleges and universities jealously hoard the information, so *U.S. News* has had to make do with the data it can obtain.

Creating an accurate, useful ranking of schools is a daunting, and perhaps quixotic, task. But arguing against imperfect efforts to try to rank colleges is beside the point. The runaway popularity of the *U.S. News* rankings demonstrates the enormous appetite that exists for the product: unsurprisingly, people like to know something about the education they're considering paying tens of thousands of dollars a year for, and in the absence of truly meaningful measures of what exactly a college produces in exchange for your tuition, halfway measures like the existing rankings are about as good as you're going to get.

The potency of college rankings can be seen in their rapid spread internationally. Since the 1990s, more than forty countries, from Poland to Argentina to Kazakhstan, have developed some sort of ranking of their national universities—often called "league tables," the same term used in Europe for sports rankings.

The current decade has seen the rise of rankings that compare colleges not just within countries but between them. In 2001, administrators at China's Shanghai Jiao Tong University tasked a chemical engineering professor named Nian Cai Liu with assessing how their school compared with others around the world. China's massive economic expansion was in full bloom, the government saw higher education as a potential source of innovation and economic growth, and the Shanghai Jiao Tong officials wanted to know where they stood in the international marketplace. Looking at a number of mostly research-oriented factors—how many frequently cited researchers schools employed, how many articles they published, and how many prizes they won—Liu and his staff spent two years compiling data for more than 2,000 institutions. Then they weighted the measures, converted them into an aggregate score for each institution, and sorted the world's universities from top to bottom. Without really trying to, Liu had created the first

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comprehensive global college rankings—Shanghai Jiao Tong's *Academic Ranking of World Universities* became an international sensation, much followed in the academic and government worlds.

A year after the debut of the Shanghai rankings, *Times Higher* launched its own, very different global effort to compare universities. Where the Shanghai rankings focused almost exclusively on research, the *Times Higher* rankings aimed for a more "rounded assessment" that would also appeal to consumers—prospective college students and their parents. In practice, this has meant that *Times Higher* is even more reliant than *U.S. News* on subjective "reputational" data from surveys of college administrators, though *Times Higher* also incorporates such measures as employer surveys, student/faculty ratios, and the percent of international students and faculty at a university—the latter on the grounds that it serves as a market test of an institution's ability to attract brainpower in an ever more globalized world.

Other attempts to grade the world's colleges and universities have also blossomed. The "Webometrics Ranking of World Universities," put together by a division of the Spanish National Research Council, the country's largest public research body, measures Web-based academic activities. The International Professional Rankings of World Universities, compiled by France's prestigious Mines ParisTech, are based solely on the number of a university's alumni serving in top positions in Fortune 500 companies.

These international rankings serve as broad measures of quality for nations intent on improving their international standing. They are also being used in some cases as the equivalent of the *Good Housekeeping* seal of approval. The Mongolian government, for instance, has weighed a policy that would give study-abroad funding only to students admitted to a university that appears in one of the global rankings. In the Netherlands, an immigration-reform proposal aimed at attracting more skilled migrants would restrict visas to all but graduates of the universities ranked in the two top tiers of global league tables.

Other countries are trying to revamp their university systems in the hope of achieving higher stature in the rankings. "Excellence initiatives in Germany, Russia, China and France are policy responses to rankings," Ellen Hazelkorn, director of the Higher Education Policy Research Unit at the Dublin Institute of Technology, wrote in the online publication *University World News*. "The pace of higher education reform is likely to quicken in the belief that more elite, competitive and better institutions are equivalent to being higher ranked." A recent study of rankings in four countries, conducted by the Institute for Higher Education Policy, found that rankings had a useful impact on how universities make decisions, including more data-based assessment of success, but also some potentially negative effects, like encouraging a focus on elite research universities at the expense of those that tend to serve less-advantaged students. In some cases, universities are playing the game, however grudgingly, with cold hard cash: in Australia, a number of vice chancellors have received salary bonuses predicated on their success in nudging their campuses up in the rankings.

All the existing international rankings have significant failings. Spain's "Webometrics" effort is creative but necessarily very narrow. Shanghai's approach is heavily biased toward science-oriented institutions, and gives universities dubious incentives to chase Nobel winners whose landmark work may not be recent enough to add meaningfully to the institution's intellectual firepower. France's Professional Rankings just happen to place far more French schools in the top echelon of universities than do other global rankings—a result that led to a memorable tautological headline in *University World News*: "French Do Well in French World Rankings." Critics of *Times Higher* note that its highly volatile rankings depend heavily on an e-mail survey with a miniscule response rate and a marked bias toward institutions in the U.K. and former British Empire.

France's Professional Rankings just happen to place far more French schools in the top echelon of universities than do other global rankings—a result that led to a memorable tautological headline in the online publication University World News: *"French Do Well in French World Rankings."*

The authors of the rankings themselves are often up front about their shortcomings. "Any criticisms I'm quite happy to print," says Ann Mroz, a veteran journalist who edits *Times Higher Education*. "I would prefer that people came to us and there was some sort of debate about it and see whether maybe we have got a few things wrong. Until we discuss it we're never going to know." Mroz says

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that she herself is uncomfortable with the use of faculty-student ratios in the *Times Higher* rankings. "It's so crude," she says. "Does it tell you how good the teaching is?" She would like to use a better measure, she says—if one can be found.

That's the crux of the matter: students and governments love rankings, and people will continue to produce them, however problematic they may be, as long as that appetite exists. Valérie Pécresse, France's minister of higher education and research, once quipped that the problem with rankings was that they existed. But if that's the problem, it's an insoluble one—international rankings are quite clearly here to stay. The question is, how do we make them better?

Many organizations, mostly outside the United States, are tackling this problem. The European Union, for instance, just announced that it is developing a new "multi-dimensional global university ranking." Mostly focused on Europe, the goal of the new assessment, still in the exploratory stage, is to move beyond research in hard sciences to include humanities and social sciences, as well as teaching quality and "community outreach." But for now, the best bet in the rankings world may be an initiative that the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development has in the works, called the International Assessment of Higher Education Learning Outcomes, or AHELO. On an aggregate level, a nation's success in building its higher education system is typically measured by enrollment levels and graduation rates—in other words, measures of quantity. AHELO is based on the premise that those measures should be accompanied by assessments of *quality*—how well professors are teaching, and how well students are actually learning. It's an approach that focuses on the missing link in the rankings explosion: outputs and value-added rather than inputs and reputation.

In some cases, universities are playing the game, however grudgingly, with cold hard cash: in Australia, a number of vice chancellors have received salary bonuses predicated on their success in nudging their campuses up in the rankings.

It's a difficult nut to crack, since there's no standardized measure of learning quality, or even much agreement on what that might hypothetically be. The nascent AHELO's answer to that conundrum relies on four major components. The first measures students' skills in areas such as analytical reasoning, writing, and applying theory to practice. The second measures subject-specific knowledge. The third looks at the context in which students learn, including their own demographic backgrounds and the characteristics of the universities they attend.

The last part of AHELO is the least developed, and the most important—an attempt to measure the value-added component of higher education. In other words, it would differentiate between schools that are good at attracting A students and schools that are good at transforming B students *into* A students. While the first three parts of the assessment are currently being tested in a handful of countries, OECD officials say the value-added measure is not ready for prime time, even on an experimental basis—they're still thinking through possible methodologies, drawing on similar work they are doing at the secondary school level.

This last point should give Americans pause. The OECD's secondary school work—an international test known as the Programme for International Student Assessment, or PISA—brought some unpleasant news when it debuted in 2001 and showed that U.S. high school students were far behind many of their global counterparts. So far, U.S. colleges have little to fear from the currently available international rankings, which focus heavily on the research and reputation measures at which the long-established and top tier of American schools excel. But new rankings that shine a spotlight on student learning as well as research could deliver far less pleasant results, both for American universities and for others around the world that have never put much focus on classroom learning.

The truth is that we don't know how we'll stack up—and not everybody wants to find out. Some in the American higher education community have been deeply resistant to the prospect of AHELO. Yes, measuring learning outcomes is important, Terry W. Hartle, a senior official at the American Council on Education, the umbrella lobbying group for U.S. colleges and universities, told *Inside Higher Ed*. But, he stressed, "If we haven't been able to figure out how to do this in the United States, it's impossible for me to imagine a method or standard that would work equally well for Holyoke Community College, MIT and the Sorbonne." (Disclosure: Last year I consulted for ACE on a short writing assignment.)

There is some truth to what Hartle says. AHELO isn't all-encompassing—it pays zero attention to research, which is a core activity of top universities—and we

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wouldn't want schools and governments to base decisions entirely on it much more than we would want them to base decisions entirely on the Shanghai Jiao Tong or *Times Higher* rankings; all rankings, after all, are imperfect instruments. But that doesn't mean we should follow the advice of many in American higher education and try to steer clear of the assessment. Such a move would only preserve U.S. schools' international reputations in the short term; if the rest of the world cooperates with the OECD assessments, claims of American exceptionalism will look absurd.

Furthermore, if the news AHELO brings about American higher education is worse than expected, we'll be better off knowing it sooner rather than later. Finding out that America's K–12 education was lagging behind the rest of the developed world didn't hurt our primary and secondary schools—it pushed us to make needed reforms. AHELO could similarly be an instrument of much-needed change in the teaching side of American higher education, a useful way to get around the recalcitrance of those educational institutions that resist attempts at bringing some accountability to their multibillion-dollar enterprise. It's also crucial to remember that the international race to improve higher education isn't a zero-sum game—it's good for all of us when other people become smarter and wealthier. We shouldn't be overly worried about other nations developing world-class universities on par with ours; what we should be worried about is whether we are really producing the great teaching and research that our students, and our society, deserve. WM

Ben Wildavsky is a senior fellow at the Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation and a guest scholar at the Brookings Institution. He is working on a book about the globalization of higher education, forthcoming from Princeton University Press in 2010.

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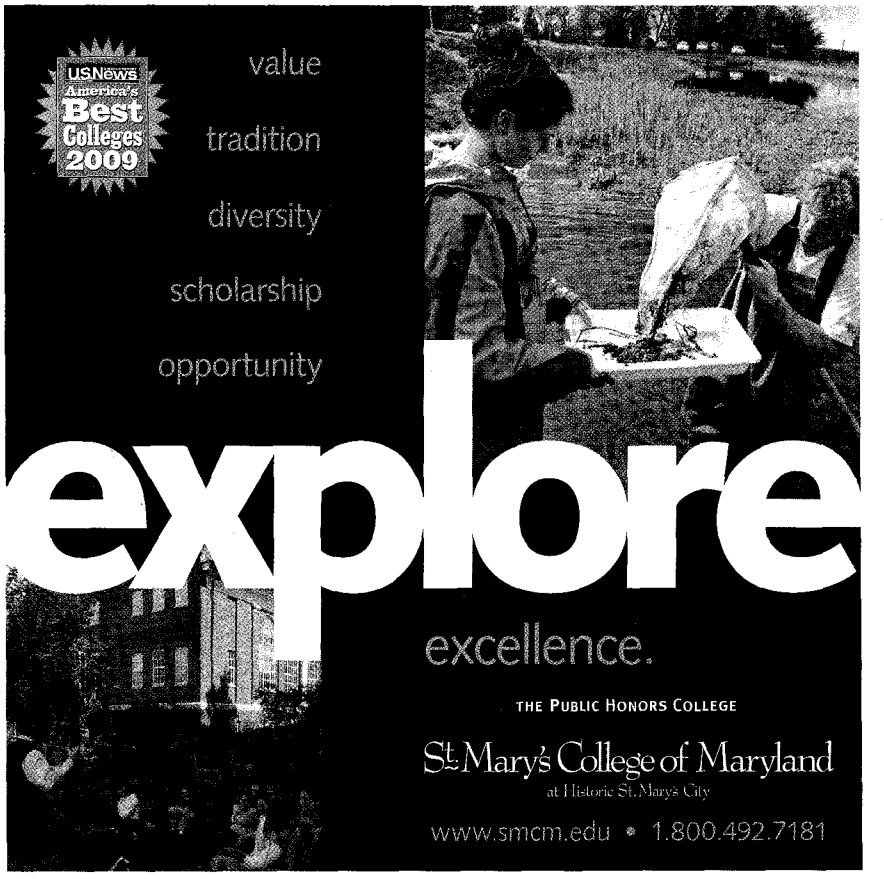

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Failure to Launch

The history of higher ed is littered with big ideas that never quite took off.

By Tim Murphy

People who pay attention to the field of higher education like to joke that it took decades for the overhead projector to make its way from the bowling alley to the classroom. Of course, this being academia, no one can quite agree on just how much time passed—some say thirty years, some say ten, some say forty—but the point generally goes unchallenged: colleges are conservative to a fault when it comes to incorporating new ideas. Up until the late nineteenth century, most American colleges were still feeding their students a curriculum developed in medieval Europe; faculty are still employed on a tenure system whose sole purpose seems to be to reward good work by taking away any incentive to ever do it again.

Nevertheless, ever since the first professor fell asleep during his own lecture, educators have been trying, and failing, to overhaul the system. The history of American higher education, for all the system's enduring institutions, is littered with next big things, those game-changing innovations that were almost certainly going to add a new dimension to the Quadrangles—until they didn't. Think of them as the Segway motorized scooters and Dippin' Dots ice cream of higher education. So as we wait for the Internet to wash away the Ivory Tower, here's a quick look at some of the paths not taken.

Let the people rule. Few big ideas have failed as fantastically as the one that turned administrative affairs into a Hobbesian state of nature. At the University of Wisconsin's Experimental College ("Ex-College"), founded in 1927, students lived with their professors (known as "advisers") and were encouraged to create their own democratic system to govern the two-year school. Alexander Meiklejohn, the program's founder, believed that a liberal arts education would strengthen his students' democratic ideals. Instead, his students rejected the idea of government entirely (although Meiklejohn could take small consolation in the fact that they at least reached their decision by democratic means). The move was indicative of a student body that, at least in the public eye, seemed so firmly resistant to convention that allegations of radicalism ran rampant. Wisconsonites took notice when an Ex-College alum, serving a one-year sentence at the Milwaukee House of Correction for fighting a police officer at a labor demonstration, announced a run for governor on the Communist Party ticket from his cell. An all-male student

Michael Blann

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production of the sexually explicit comedy *Lysistrata* only compounded conservative Midwesterners' suspicions.

Students weren't likely to get much more structure from their academic pursuits, either: classes were informal, often conducted one-on-one, and a premium was placed on individual initiative. One group of students left campus for three weeks to ride the rails across the Depression-era Midwest, having decided on a whim to conduct independent-study projects on what it was like to live in a boxcar. There were no courses, only general topics: the first year was devoted almost entirely to learning about Periclean Athens, followed by a summer's worth of reading on the growth of Muncie, Indiana. Tragically, the Experimental College closed in 1932, when support for the school evaporated among the general public and Meiklejohn had no choice but to pull the plug.

Physical education. Fueled by a combination of Protestant zeal and misplaced priorities, college educators in the late nineteenth century came to view physical education as every bit as critical to a balanced education as knowing one's Virgil and Aeschylus. In an 1895 publication, the University of California, Berkeley, proudly compared the "physical culture" of its male students to those at Yale, Amherst, and Cornell, charting the increase in lung capacity, strength, and girth over two years as an alternative measurement of the school's many virtues. Pioneers like the University of Kansas's James Naismith (the inventor of basketball) and the University of Chicago's Amos Alonzo Stagg (the inventor of the tackling dummy) were staunch proponents of Muscular Christianity, the idea that manliness and good health were essential components of a good Christian character. Even Theodore Roosevelt hopped on the bandwagon, arguing in *The Strenuous Life* that the American male had become soft in the belly and effeminate in nature; sports would instill the strength and discipline that was missing.

The growth of the athletic ideal, however, outpaced the safety precautions—the new contributions to student life often came at the expense of actual student lives. During the 1905 college football season, there were three fatalities and numerous injuries. (Putting his father's ideas into practice, Ted Roosevelt Jr. broke his collarbone playing for Harvard.) A Cincinnati *Commercial Tribune* illustration that winter depicted a smiling Grim Reaper perched atop a goalpost, sickle in hand, peering down at a pile of bodies; as John Madden would say, "Boom!"

Universities instituted a spate of reforms, but even so, ten more football players died in action four years later. College faculty and administrators moved to ban the sport unless serious changes were made, helping to pave the way for, among other things, the forward pass. The idea that education was a physical process as well as a mental one has since lost much of its initial forward motion, but has left a legacy far more enduring: a model of intercollegiate sports as a high-stakes business in which universities seek revenue and exposure by running semiprofessional sports franchises.

Little Red Schoolhouse. Conservatives have long derided academia as a bastion of the peace-loving, free-market-hating, gender-neutral radical left. Ronald Reagan scored his first major political victory by vowing to "clean up the mess" at Berkeley during his first gubernatorial campaign, later delivering on the promise by dispatching the National Guard to Telegraph Avenue. Former North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms once dismissed his state's flagship University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill campus as "the University of Negroes and Communists." But in the early twentieth century, a number of colleges did spring up with the express purpose of promoting a far-left agenda. Some schools, like the Work People's College in Minnesota and Brookwood Labor College in New York, simply ran their course. But none fell apart in quite as catastrophic a fashion as Arkansas's Commonwealth College.

The idea, at least in the beginning, was that the school would value hard work, in and out of the classroom (students grew their own food), and develop the next generation of labor leaders. As founder and antiwar activist Kate Richards O'Hare announced when the school opened for business, "Commonwealth comes into being to build a culture in overalls and workmarked hands." Instead, the school was effectively taken over by the Communist leadership of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union (STFU, as it was affectionately known). Rural Arkansans, it turned out, were reluctant converts to the cause; the school was accused of being funded by Soviet "red gold" and later blacklisted by the American Legion for a number of reasons, including failure to fly the Stars and Stripes. Under political pressure, the state rescinded the school's accreditation in 1940. Commonwealth did produce one notable politician, however: Arkansas's militantly segregationist governor Orval Faubus briefly attended the school, a historical curiosity that, when revealed to the public, nearly derailed his first gubernatorial campaign.

Students at Johnston College participated in thrice-daily encounter sessions. Splitting into groups, students called each other names, hugged, cried, and then wrote about how it made them feel.

Sensitivity training. Think the *Real World* meets *Dead Poets Society*. Enacted in—when else?—1969 at Johnston College, a cluster experiment of California's

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University of the Redlands, the idea was to use a heightened sensitivity to one's own feelings to create a more advanced learning environment. If students and faculty could more fully understand the emotions of their peers, learning would become a more collaborative and efficient process. It worked well enough for NASA, from whom the idea was loosely borrowed—but then, so did freeze-dried ice cream.

With a staff of psychologists on hand, students and faculty prepared for the first day of classes by playing volleyball and participating in thrice-daily encounter sessions during their summer retreat in the San Bernardino Mountains. Splitting into groups, students called each other names, hugged, cried, and then wrote about how it made them feel. At the time of the school's founding, *Time* declared Johnston "The New Eden," suggesting that the plan "could be a wavelet of the future."

So how could a system built on something as sturdy as the psyches of eighteen-year-olds fall apart? Quite quickly, it turned out. The idea failed to win over students—enrollment dropped by nearly 70 percent within a decade—and not everyone's feelings turned out to be so constructive: Redlands alumni wrote angry letters to administrators asking what had happened to their school. The free-for-all ended in 1979, when Redlands administrators folded Johnston, which had previously enjoyed semi-autonomy, into the university and toned down its curriculum.

Conservative Midwesterners took notice when an Ex-College alum, serving a prison term for fighting a police officer, announced a run for governor on the Communist Party ticket from his jail cell.

The national university. Were it not for his ambiguous last wishes, James Smithson might best be remembered as the author of the scholarly paper "An Improved Method of Making Coffee" and for his analysis of the chemical properties of women's teardrops. But upon his death, the wealthy British scientist willed his fortune to the United States—which he had never actually visited—to promote the "diffusion of knowledge among men" through an eponymous institution. The behest triggered a showdown over the first failed big idea to grip American higher education: the national university.

In a collegiate climate long dominated by pseudo-seminaries, a federally funded, secular research university that would serve as a magnet for the country's best and brightest seemed like a natural fit. After independence, the Philadelphia physician and Founding Father Benjamin Rush proposed a national university focused on training Americans for the skills they'd need to build a competitive new nation. George Washington and each of the next four presidents agreed. But Congress, wary of expanding federal power, repeatedly said thanks, but no thanks, finally dealing the movement a fatal blow with the decision to appropriate Smithson's funds toward a museum, not a school (or, as John Quincy Adams hoped, an observatory).

Perhaps it was for the better: while the federal government would eventually revolutionize higher learning with the Morrill Land Grant Act, the American model took a far more competitive tone than its founders first surmised. The first science departments popped up at top schools at roughly the same time the Smithsonian opened for business on the Mall, and demand for a national university disappeared.

The no-fun campus. Few people tinkered quite as much with a major university's DNA as University of Chicago President Robert Maynard Hutchins. Hutchins believed that colleges had lost their focus; what was needed was a more efficient, concentrated approach that would school students in a core set of ideas with as few distractions as possible. Following his "New Plan" for Chicago, Hutchins scrapped the football program at the school that won the first Heisman Trophy, and fought to keep fraternities and sororities off campus. He also instituted a rigorous Great Books–driven curriculum for all undergraduates, opened up admission to sixteen-year-olds, and awarded bachelor's degrees after just two years for students who passed a comprehensive competency exam. Students weren't at college to have a good time, he thought, and they shouldn't stick around longer than was needed.

Hutchins was at first greeted as a liberator, at least off campus: *Time* plastered him on its cover in 1935, dubbed him "the golden boy," and predicted that his "New Plan" for Chicago "should eventually transform U.S. education." But his ideas, inevitably, proved toxic when it came to attracting students to Hyde Park, since young people tend to *like* distractions. Despite *Time*'s glowing reviews, undergraduate enrollment declined, and even many of the school's faculty considered the scheme harebrained.

The results were mixed: Chicago churned out its share of top scholars, and the old football stadium was put to productive use as a testing ground for the Manhattan Project. On the other hand, as the *New Yorker* put it in 1952, the undergraduate college was "the greatest magnet for neurotic juveniles since the Children's Crusade." When Hutchins left in 1951, so too did most of his big ideas: fraternities returned three years later; football made a comeback in 1969. More broadly, his Great Books dogmatism helped fuel a countermovement to expand general education syllabi beyond the Western canon. WM

Tim Murphy is an intern at the *Washington Monthly*.

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At SC State University, we continue to build upon our legacy of excellence. SC State University leads the way in producing graduates who will be leaders in a global society. SC State has produced 13 generals and thousands of army officers through its ROTC program. Among America's Best Colleges, listed by *US News and World Report*, SC State is home of the 2008 MEAC Football Champions. The Men and Women's Tennis teams also claimed the 2008 MEAC Championship. Our unique programs and services offered in three colleges pave the way for excellence in Engineering, Agribusiness, Nursing, Education, and more. Join SC State University, where establishing excellence is our "New State of Mind."

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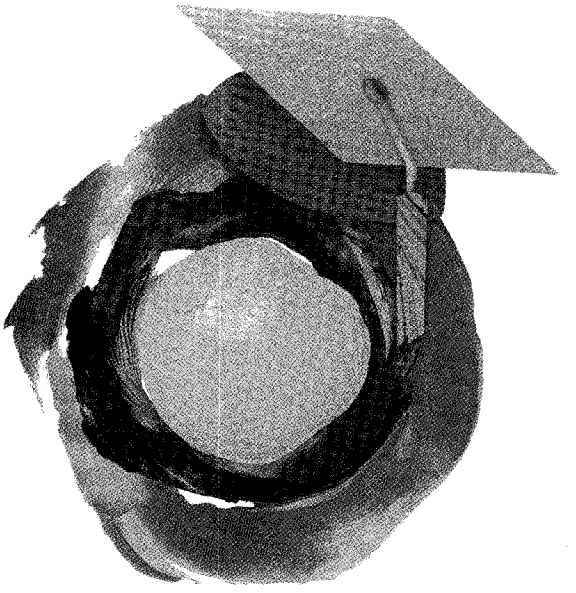

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NATIONAL UNIVERSITIES

*Public university

			SOCIAL MOBILITY			RESEARCH					SERVICE		
		OVERALL SCORE	% of students receiving Pell Grants	Predicted/actual grad rate based on % of Pell recipients and incoming SATs	Difference between predicted/actual grad rates (rank)	Total research spending in millions (rank)	Bachelor's to PhD rank	PhDs awarded rank	Faculty awards rank	National Academies membership rank	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study funds spent on service (rank)
1.	University of California—Berkeley (CA)*	100	32	80/88	8 (35)	546 (17)	16	1	4	2	20	184	27 (21)
2.	Univ. of California—San Diego (CA)*	82	36	71/84	13 (13)	755 (6)	46	22	5	7	43	224	17 (77)
3.	Univ. of California—Los Angeles (CA)*	80	35	76/90	14 (7)	811 (3)	32	11	28	23	57	160	17 (76)
4.	Stanford University (CA)	79	14	95/95	0 (142)	679 (7)	7	4	12	3	45	192	25 (30)
5.	Texas A&M U.—Col. Station (TX)*	78	19	68/78	10 (27)	493 (21)	97	15	59	49	128	2	27 (22)
6.	South Carolina State University (SC)*	75	71	22/45	23 (1)	4 (224)	135	242	207	146	242	10	19 (62)
7.	Pennsylvania State U.—University Park (PA)*	73	25	66/84	18 (3)	568 (14)	57	14	57	55	79	37	27 (23)
8.	College of William and Mary (VA)*	71	9	86/91	5 (79)	52 (138)	14	170	25	146	2	46	21 (47)
9.	University of Texas—Austin (TX)*	69	23	71/78	7 (42)	431 (29)	55	12	13	17	60	167	35 (8)
10.	University of California—Davis (CA)*	69	37	61/79	18 (4)	573 (13)	41	16	85	41	46	138	13 (128)
11.	Harvard University (MA)	69	9	101/97	-4 (193)	453 (24)	10	17	2	4	181	166	28 (17)
12.	Massachusetts Inst. of Technology (MA)	67	15	98/93	-5 (196)	601 (11)	2	2	53	6	130	74	13 (134)
13.	University of Chicago (IL)	66	13	94/90	-4 (183)	305 (45)	8	58	47	30	3	232	18 (69)
14.	University of Washington (WA)*	65	25	68/75	7 (46)	778 (5)	100	13	19	14	17	127	10 (177)
15.	Case Western Reserve Univ. (OH)	65	18	80/81	1 (123)	369 (33)	21	60	66	39	132	221	72 (2)
16.	Univ. of California—Riverside (CA)*	64	42	49/66	17 (5)	125 (94)	156	71	44	78	169	196	40 (5)
17.	Cornell University (NY)	64	14	90/92	2 (113)	444 (26)	9	19	22	21	16	105	11 (154)
18.	University of Michigan—Ann Arbor (MI)*	64	13	81/88	7 (43)	800 (4)	28	3	41	34	24	104	16 (95)
19.	University of Notre Dame (IN)	64	9	92/95	3 (96)	79 (117)	24	75	6	110	27	11	16 (91)
20.	Ohio State Univ.—Columbus (OH)*	63	31	70/71	1 (116)	652 (10)	114	18	95	61	88	70	29 (16)
21.	Univ. of California—Santa Barbara (CA)*	63	26	65/80	15 (6)	174 (81)	54	48	14	8	36	188	17 (80)
22.	Jackson State University (MS)*	62	76	25/36	11 (23)	38 (148)	206	219	154	146	242	17	11 (158)
23.	Yale University (CT)	62	10	100/96	-4 (189)	460 (23)	3	45	17	12	13	240	16 (92)
24.	U. of Illinois—Urbana-Champaign (IL)*	62	16	78/82	4 (89)	476 (22)	39	9	11	16	91	94	25 (28)
25.	Johns Hopkins University (MD)	61	11	90/90	0 (136)	1500 (1)	17	23	15	18	50	96	13 (127)
26.	University of Virginia (VA)*	61	8	83/93	10 (24)	239 (61)	26	52	48	35	10	67	21 (48)
27.	Utah State University (UT)*	61	52	52/45	-7 (210)	139 (88)	142	118	153	131	152	130	49 (3)
28.	Princeton University (NJ)	60	10	100/95	-5 (199)	188 (76)	5	43	1	5	104	134	10 (176)
29.	California Institute of Technology (CA)	59	12	104/89	-15 (248)	270 (53)	1	38	3	1	22	240	8 (238)
30.	Univ. of Wisconsin—Madison (WI)*	59	12	77/79	2 (108)	832 (2)	36	5	24	19	35	143	20 (54)
31.	Vanderbilt University (TN)	58	12	90/91	1 (121)	377 (31)	23	60	43	59	31	28	21 (52)
32.	Iowa State University (IA)*	57	22	61/66	5 (74)	222 (63)	94	33	163	79	98	55	46 (4)
33.	Duke University (NC)	55	10	95/94	-1 (151)	657 (9)	12	46	33	29	44	39	10 (184)

OVERALL SCORE: Overall score represents the combined score of our three metrics—social mobility, research, and service—where the highest is 100 and the lowest is zero. Each individual metric is worth 33 1/3 total points.

SOCIAL MOBILITY: The first column shows the percentage of students receiving Pell Grants. The second shows the predicted rate of graduation, based on incoming SAT scores and Pell Grant percentages, versus the actual rate of graduation. The third shows the difference between the actual graduation rate and the predicted graduation rate—a measure of how well the school performs as an engine of social mobility (see "A Note on Methodology," p. 72)—arrived at by subtracting the latter from the former. (The higher the number, the better; negative numbers indicate subpar performance.) Rank follows in parentheses.

RESEARCH: The first column shows the number of dollars (in millions) in total research expenditures. Rank follows in parentheses. The second shows the school's ranking in the number of bachelor's recipients who go on to receive PhDs relative to school size. The third ranks the school by the number of science and engineering PhDs awarded. The fourth column shows the school's ranking by the number of faculty receiving prestigious awards relative to the number of full-time faculty. The fifth column ranks the school by the number of faculty who are members of the National Academies relative to the number of full-time faculty.

SERVICE: The first column ranks the school by the number of alumni who go on to serve in the Peace Corps, relative to school size. The second column ranks the school by percentage of students who serve in ROTC. The third gives the percentage of funds in federal work-study money that goes to community service (versus non-community service); rank follows in parentheses.

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			SOCIAL MOBILITY			RESEARCH					SERVICE		
		OVERALL SCORE	% of students receiving Pell Grants	Predicted/actual grad rate based on % of Pell recipients and incoming SATs	Difference between predicted/actual grad rates (rank)	Total research spending in millions (rank)	Bachelor's to PhD rank	PhDs awarded rank	Faculty awards rank	National Academies membership rank	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study funds spent on service (rank)
34.	Michigan State University (MI)*	54	25	63/74	11 (19)	358 (35)	87	29	72	96	25	136	18 (68)
35.	Brown University (RI)	54	12	94/95	1 (124)	158 (83)	6	82	10	27	12	239	9 (203)
36.	U. of North Carolina—Chapel Hill (NC)*	53	15	80/83	3 (94)	444 (27)	45	26	52	45	7	112	11 (152)
37.	Georgetown University (DC)	53	10	91/93	2 (107)	119 (98)	30	130	60	82	5	53	13 (129)
38.	Georgia Institute of Technology (GA)*	53	14	84/78	-6 (202)	441 (28)	51	10	7	10	81	35	13 (130)
39.	Northwestern University (IL)	53	9	93/93	0 (135)	420 (30)	18	30	8	25	26	176	13 (135)
40.	Dartmouth College (NH)	52	15	96/93	-3 (174)	200 (71)	13	102	20	26	8	210	12 (147)
41.	Univ. of Southern California (CA)	52	16	87/85	-2 (159)	450 (25)	128	24	61	42	63	100	26 (27)
42.	Columbia University (NY)	52	17	94/93	-1 (148)	530 (20)	20	27	32	13	52	222	11 (149)
43.	University of Pittsburgh (PA)*	52	30	70/75	5 (66)	530 (19)	68	34	89	66	39	144	11 (160)
44.	University of California—Irvine (CA)*	51	28	66/80	14 (9)	300 (46)	71	37	30	28	95	217	15 (104)
45.	University of Florida (FL)*	51	23	74/81	7 (44)	565 (15)	56	6	83	74	83	102	10 (179)
46.	Rensselaer Polytechnic Inst. (NY)	51	15	84/82	-2 (165)	71 (123)	27	57	45	32	94	7	12 (148)
47.	University of Arizona (AZ)*	51	23	58/56	-2 (160)	536 (18)	70	25	31	36	97	81	32 (10)
48.	Purdue U.—W. Lafayette (IN)*	51	17	64/69	5 (69)	373 (32)	127	8	40	54	114	48	26 (26)
49.	University of Rochester (NY)	50	16	83/81	-2 (158)	367 (34)	11	63	84	43	58	49	17 (78)
50.	U. of Minnesota—Twin Cities (MN)*	49	19	70/63	-7 (208)	595 (12)	101	7	86	56	55	156	32 (11)
51.	Brandeis University (MA)	47	13	87/89	2 (106)	57 (133)	15	135	26	11	19	240	13 (124)
52.	Howard University (DC)	47	34	57/69	12 (16)	36 (152)	47	142	203	72	82	57	14 (115)
53.	Florida Institute of Technology (FL)	47	25	63/56	-7 (207)	8 (210)	50	183	207	146	203	1	19 (64)
54.	Clarkson University (NY)	47	24	65/70	5 (73)	16 (186)	49	182	39	146	202	3	8 (232)
55.	Florida A&M University (FL)*	47	63	40/39	-1 (144)	34 (156)	172	183	207	146	235	22	10 (172)
56.	U. of California—Santa Cruz (CA)*	47	27	62/68	6 (52)	114 (102)	48	90	18	47	18	240	14 (116)
57.	Rice University (TX)	46	11	92/90	-2 (170)	67 (125)	4	80	151	22	21	178	13 (123)
58.	University of Idaho (ID)*	46	33	51/53	2 (111)	87 (115)	120	115	49	146	59	23	17 (79)
59.	University of Pennsylvania (PA)	46	9	94/95	1 (127)	676 (8)	25	28	76	20	73	198	16 (96)
60.	George Washington Univ. (DC)	46	9	80/78	-2 (162)	114 (103)	69	91	58	69	4	34	12 (138)
61.	Virginia Tech (VA)*	46	12	71/78	7 (41)	322 (44)	63	31	82	62	61	13	7 (254)
62.	American University (DC)	45	12	77/73	-4 (191)	2 (226)	121	214	182	146	1	71	13 (132)
63.	Fordham University (NY)	45	25	71/80	9 (32)	6 (215)	104	219	77	93	64	50	15 (106)
64.	University of Iowa (IA)*	45	17	64/66	2 (109)	346 (37)	81	42	87	51	93	124	35 (9)
65.	New York University (NY)	45	17	84/84	0 (130)	284 (50)	107	84	36	46	75	220	28 (18)
66.	Syracuse University (NY)	45	21	71/82	11 (22)	36 (153)	85	107	71	81	89	133	23 (41)
67.	Catholic Univ. of America (DC)	44	10	62/75	13 (12)	18 (182)	139	186	23	94	33	44	24 (33)
68.	Univ. of Missouri—Columbia (MO)*	44	16	66/67	1 (120)	215 (66)	74	70	150	114	105	58	38 (6)
69.	Clark Atlanta University (GA)	44	60	30/44	14 (8)	11 (200)	122	209	207	83	177	182	11 (157)
70.	Tulane University (LA)	43	15	78/76	-2 (166)	114 (101)	44	94	97	92	47	15	15 (100)
71.	U. of Maryland—College Park (MD)*	43	16	77/80	3 (101)	354 (36)	76	19	68	53	87	155	18 (70)
72.	Oregon State University (OR)*	43	29	55/61	6 (50)	190 (74)	147	58	98	100	53	26	9 (202)
73.	SUNY—Binghamton (NY)*	43	34	73/77	4 (82)	30 (163)	53	136	38	121	51	214	9 (197)
74.	Boston College (MA)	43	10	85/91	6 (54)	36 (154)	43	144	37	88	11	122	10 (174)
75.	Carnegie Mellon University (PA)	43	12	90/87	-3 (181)	213 (69)	22	49	34	15	77	151	17 (81)
76.	Mississippi State University (MS)*	42	32	56/58	2 (104)	190 (73)	113	122	141	138	223	61	30 (14)
77.	Tennessee State University (TN)*	42	58	28/40	12 (18)	14 (192)	226	219	170	146	242	193	19 (59)
78.	SUNY—Stony Brook (NY)*	41	49	62/59	-3 (172)	235 (62)	136	41	117	146	189	203	10 (170)

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79.	University of Oregon (OR)*	41	22	59/65	6 (56)	57 (131)	123	108	69	71	15	54	8 (219)
80.	University of San Diego (CA)	41	11	69/74	5 (64)	0 (239)	157	191	147	146	40	4	9 (195)
81.	Rutgers, St. U. of N.J.—N.Brun. (NJ)*	41	25	67/73	6 (49)	281 (51)	62	35	70	31	233	153	17 (82)
82.	Tufts University (MA)	40	10	93/89	-4 (185)	129 (92)	19	104	55	48	42	148	18 (66)
83.	Indiana Univ.—Bloomington (IN)*	40	15	64/72	8 (38)	142 (87)	119	66	35	70	96	131	28 (19)
84.	Morgan State University (MD)*	40	48	33/38	5 (63)	14 (194)	130	203	207	146	230	16	15 (103)
85.	Widener University (PA)	40	27	46/52	6 (58)	0 (243)	169	203	207	146	216	9	25 (31)
86.	Marquette University (WI)	40	13	71/75	4 (87)	10 (203)	116	170	192	146	48	5	9 (190)
87.	SUNY Col. Envir. Sci. & For. (NY)*	39	27	62/66	4 (81)	13 (196)	33	176	207	146	6	181	10 (182)
88.	Univ. of Colorado—Boulder (CO)*	39	14	67/67	0 (132)	250 (56)	90	38	50	40	14	69	8 (241)
89.	Miami Univ.—Oxford (OH)*	39	20	68/80	12 (15)	19 (179)	65	189	198	146	32	84	11 (166)
90.	Yeshiva University (NY)	39	10	74/84	10 (26)	189 (75)	111	120	46	38	242	240	37 (7)
91.	North Carolina A&T State Univ. (NC)*	38	48	31/41	10 (25)	24 (174)	203	219	16	146	234	72	9 (216)
92.	U. of S.C.—Columbia (SC)*	38	23	64/63	-1 (156)	154 (84)	163	67	152	116	85	32	21 (50)
93.	Ohio University (OH)*	38	28	56/70	14 (10)	38 (149)	106	130	207	146	56	87	9 (191)
94.	Illinois Institute of Technology (IL)	38	22	73/67	-6 (204)	23 (176)	73	128	164	44	199	6	12 (146)
95.	SUNY—Albany (NY)*	38	31	56/64	8 (37)	274 (52)	95	129	74	126	92	179	13 (126)
96.	University of Maine (ME)*	37	27	54/59	5 (78)	93 (113)	154	147	187	122	103	60	23 (42)
97.	Loyola University Chicago (IL)	37	26	64/65	1 (128)	38 (150)	88	156	63	129	113	147	26 (24)
98.	University of the Pacific (CA)	37	30	65/67	2 (105)	4 (220)	84	207	207	109	54	240	24 (35)
99.	Washington University in St. Louis (MO)	37	7	97/92	-5 (200)	548 (16)	29	47	21	33	84	162	11 (151)
100.	Boston University (MA)	37	10	79/82	3 (93)	256 (54)	60	32	94	64	41	56	8 (222)
101.	University at Buffalo—SUNY (NY)*	37	40	60/61	1 (126)	298 (47)	64	44	129	85	171	195	8 (225)
102.	Auburn University (AL)*	37	14	63/63	0 (134)	127 (93)	117	78	180	146	198	18	32 (12)
103.	University of New Hampshire (NH)*	36	16	61/74	13 (11)	115 (99)	105	142	26	146	65	89	12 (137)
104.	N.C. State U.—Raleigh (NC)*	36	17	68/70	2 (103)	331 (41)	92	21	78	50	133	38	9 (214)
105.	University of San Francisco (CA)	35	21	61/65	4 (85)	1 (234)	180	236	149	146	62	14	10 (187)
106.	Colorado State University (CO)*	35	17	60/62	2 (110)	254 (55)	115	56	64	73	37	110	16 (88)
107.	Clark University (MA)	35	17	70/76	6 (57)	5 (216)	38	219	91	146	9	197	8 (243)
108.	Azusa Pacific University (CA)	35	23	55/65	10 (29)	0 (243)	213	238	207	146	28	33	9 (205)
109.	New Mexico State University (NM)*	35	39	40/45	5 (65)	169 (82)	149	118	140	146	180	66	14 (107)
110.	Univ. of Southern Mississippi (MS)*	35	47	45/48	3 (91)	39 (147)	67	161	194	146	196	90	8 (217)
111.	University of Connecticut (CT)*	34	19	68/75	7 (47)	106 (106)	98	35	132	107	120	150	18 (67)
112.	University of Illinois—Chicago (IL)*	34	37	55/50	-5 (195)	332 (39)	132	40	93	90	192	149	15 (98)
113.	Emory University (GA)	34	14	89/88	-1 (152)	346 (38)	35	93	113	57	76	234	14 (109)
114.	University of Dayton (OH)	33	11	67/76	9 (33)	69 (124)	80	178	207	146	34	29	12 (142)
115.	Arizona State University (AZ)*	33	30	56/56	0 (139)	202 (70)	153	49	65	52	126	158	14 (111)
116.	Clemson University (SC)*	33	14	72/78	6 (55)	180 (80)	96	86	201	140	117	25	12 (144)
117.	University of Delaware (DE)*	33	8	68/78	10 (28)	115 (100)	72	74	105	58	99	145	24 (36)
118.	U. of Mass.—Amherst (MA)*	33	23	62/67	5 (68)	136 (89)	93	54	54	65	119	172	14 (117)
119.	Michigan Technological (MI)*	32	21	65/64	-1 (154)	43 (146)	52	113	29	111	141	31	12 (139)
120.	George Fox University (OR)	32	33	53/62	9 (34)	0 (243)	83	242	207	146	67	240	15 (102)
121.	Florida State University (FL)*	32	25	66/69	3 (97)	186 (77)	131	73	73	84	107	117	9 (212)
122.	Missouri U. of Science & Tech. (MO)*	32	23	75/61	-14 (243)	37 (151)	58	126	90	98	172	20	19 (60)
123.	University of Vermont (VT)*	31	16	67/72	5 (76)	122 (97)	133	136	146	120	30	146	14 (108)

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			SOCIAL MOBILITY			RESEARCH					SERVICE		
		OVERALL SCORE	% of students receiving Pell Grants	Predicted/actual grad rate based on % of Pell recipients and incoming SATs	Difference between predicted/actual grad rates (rank)	Total research spending in millions (rank)	Bachelor's to PhD rank	PhDs awarded rank	Faculty awards rank	National Academies membership rank	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study funds spent on service (rank)
124.	Indiana Univ. of Pennsylvania (PA)*	31	36	41/51	10 (30)	0 (241)	125	219	207	146	195	27	8 (237)
125.	Texas A&M Univ.—Kingsville (TX)*	31	54	33/30	-3 (178)	13 (195)	151	203	207	146	227	76	14 (114)
126.	University of Wyoming (WY)*	31	21	58/57	-1 (143)	89 (114)	91	133	136	115	109	40	21 (49)
127.	Wake Forest University (NC)	31	8	84/89	5 (72)	183 (78)	31	149	144	128	66	59	7 (244)
128.	Oklahoma State University (OK)*	31	27	60/58	-2 (167)	100 (109)	145	80	161	104	111	137	20 (53)
129.	Washington State University (WA)*	31	25	58/63	5 (75)	196 (72)	152	82	130	146	121	114	13 (125)
130.	University of Miami (FL)	30	17	77/76	-1 (153)	214 (67)	61	102	206	119	69	189	19 (63)
131.	Old Dominion University (VA)*	30	26	53/49	-4 (186)	50 (140)	225	130	141	146	182	8	11 (165)
132.	University of Montana (MT)*	30	33	51/41	-10 (232)	53 (136)	165	164	96	146	38	68	15 (99)
133.	University of Mississippi (MS)*	30	24	55/53	-2 (164)	54 (135)	195	122	137	146	222	21	22 (46)
134.	University of Cincinnati (OH)*	30	39	56/52	-4 (194)	294 (48)	189	64	125	102	174	128	7 (250)
135.	University of Georgia (GA)*	30	14	73/77	4 (83)	324 (43)	118	52	108	87	68	135	8 (234)
136.	Brigham Young U.—Provo (UT)	30	30	72/78	6 (48)	26 (172)	37	136	191	143	215	106	0 (258)
137.	Pepperdine University (CA)	29	14	73/79	6 (59)	0 (243)	78	238	207	146	23	202	13 (120)
138.	University of New Mexico (NM)*	29	38	48/44	-4 (190)	181 (79)	129	86	120	105	167	79	11 (163)
139.	University of Oklahoma (OK)*	28	22	65/61	-4 (187)	101 (108)	137	88	102	125	135	42	15 (97)
140.	University of Texas—El Paso (TX)*	28	54	32/29	-3 (177)	32 (160)	201	167	189	146	217	75	8 (240)
141.	University of Toledo (OH)*	28	32	49/45	-4 (192)	30 (162)	164	112	119	146	185	85	24 (38)
142.	Duquesne University (PA)	28	19	61/72	11 (20)	8 (208)	148	190	106	146	161	63	11 (156)
143.	Bowling Green State Univ. (OH)*	28	29	48/57	9 (31)	10 (204)	146	164	80	146	158	97	11 (162)
144.	Rutgers, St. U. of N.J.—Newark (NJ)*	28	35	52/57	5 (77)	23 (175)	242	186	173	146	191	212	17 (82)
145.	University of South Dakota (SD)*	28	29	50/47	-3 (175)	23 (177)	176	203	207	146	108	140	28 (20)
146.	University of Alabama (AL)*	28	19	60/65	5 (71)	35 (155)	158	145	100	146	176	142	24 (34)
147.	Kansas State University (KS)*	27	23	53/58	5 (70)	124 (95)	124	92	187	146	78	51	8 (236)
148.	Colorado School of Mines (CO)*	27	15	72/67	-5 (201)	29 (167)	42	110	67	37	80	118	16 (94)
149.	Texas Christian University (TX)	27	12	66/69	3 (100)	4 (221)	112	209	112	146	162	12	9 (192)
150.	University of Nevada—Las Vegas (NV)*	27	19	51/41	-10 (227)	57 (132)	253	197	175	146	238	173	74 (1)
151.	University of South Florida (FL)*	27	28	60/49	-11 (234)	286 (49)	174	75	103	133	159	115	22 (44)
152.	Northern Illinois University (IL)*	27	26	52/52	0 (141)	17 (185)	184	186	109	146	143	126	23 (40)
153.	Univ. of Nebraska—Lincoln (NE)*	27	21	64/63	-1 (145)	216 (65)	86	79	104	132	100	78	9 (201)
154.	University of Utah (UT)*	27	23	59/56	-3 (182)	248 (58)	77	51	107	68	122	132	13 (133)
155.	Biola University (CA)	26	23	60/71	11 (21)	0 (243)	188	219	207	146	242	109	15 (101)
156.	University of North Dakota (ND)*	26	20	54/54	0 (131)	56 (134)	141	195	133	123	183	24	18 (74)
157.	Temple University (PA)*	26	30	55/59	4 (84)	80 (116)	177	96	141	146	137	157	9 (210)
158.	University of Denver (CO)	26	14	67/74	7 (40)	11 (202)	175	214	122	146	29	205	12 (141)
159.	Trinity International Univ. (IL)	26	46	49/47	-2 (163)	0 (243)	254	242	207	146	134	240	11 (161)
160.	Texas A&M Univ.—Commerce (TX)*	26	46	42/38	-4 (188)	1 (235)	187	237	111	146	228	237	19 (65)
161.	DePaul University (IL)	25	27	57/62	5 (62)	4 (223)	247	219	166	146	101	190	15 (105)
162.	West Virginia University (WV)*	25	25	52/55	3 (92)	122 (96)	140	99	205	144	154	30	7 (247)
163.	Polytechnic University (NY)	25	44	60/47	-13 (238)	14 (191)	82	193	207	9	242	223	9 (193)
164.	Kent State University (OH)*	25	36	45/51	6 (51)	11 (201)	171	152	169	134	205	119	8 (228)
165.	St. John's University (NY)	25	30	54/61	7 (45)	2 (232)	241	199	56	146	240	107	8 (226)
166.	Lehigh University (PA)	25	11	83/83	0 (133)	33 (158)	59	114	185	24	118	101	9 (209)
167.	San Diego State University (CA)*	25	31	52/56	4 (80)	74 (121)	212	219	176	146	147	163	12 (140)
168.	Seton Hall University (NJ)	24	21	55/57	2 (102)	2 (227)	155	219	101	146	70	36	8 (231)

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			SOCIAL MOBILITY			RESEARCH					SERVICE		
		OVERALL SCORE	% of students receiving Pell Grants	Predicted/actual grad rate based on % of Pell recipients and incoming SATs	Difference between predicted/actual grad rates (rank)	Total research spending in millions (rank)	Bachelor's to PhD rank	PhDs awarded rank	Faculty awards rank	National Academies membership rank	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study funds spent on service (rank)
169.	University of Kentucky (KY)*	24	17	58/61	3 (98)	324 (42)	102	55	75	136	131	111	9 (199)
170.	Illinois State University (IL)*	24	19	60/65	5 (67)	5 (217)	170	214	118	146	129	123	16 (90)
171.	Southern Illinois U.—Carbondale (IL)*	23	34	47/46	-1 (150)	75 (120)	143	133	138	146	193	88	10 (168)
172.	University of St. Thomas (MN)	23	14	64/72	8 (39)	0 (241)	168	238	207	146	145	47	13 (131)
173.	Andrews University (MI)	23	32	53/54	1 (129)	1 (236)	75	219	207	146	72	240	11 (159)
174.	Baylor University (TX)	23	18	70/72	2 (114)	6 (213)	66	154	207	146	90	235	17 (86)
175.	Spalding University (KY)	23	52	27/24	-3 (176)	0 (243)	252	242	207	146	124	207	12 (143)
176.	University of La Verne (CA)	22	34	46/59	13 (14)	0 (243)	205	241	207	146	242	204	8 (221)
177.	Florida International University (FL)*	22	34	56/49	-7 (211)	66 (127)	245	116	162	106	219	180	19 (61)
178.	University of West Florida (FL)*	22	28	54/48	-6 (206)	4 (219)	173	242	207	146	146	43	18 (72)
179.	U. of North Carolina—Greensboro (NC)*	22	32	50/50	0 (140)	6 (214)	194	209	155	146	173	201	18 (71)
180.	Pacific University (OR)	22	27	58/63	5 (60)	0 (240)	79	242	207	146	160	240	14 (110)
181.	University of Kansas (KS)*	22	16	62/60	-2 (168)	131 (91)	108	84	139	99	71	77	10 (169)
182.	University of Hawaii—Manoa (HI)*	21	20	58/55	-3 (173)	250 (57)	160	108	158	75	139	95	14 (113)
183.	Southern Methodist Univ. (TX)	21	14	73/71	-2 (169)	12 (197)	134	162	207	89	110	228	25 (29)
184.	South Dakota State University (SD)*	21	26	53/54	1 (115)	33 (159)	196	195	183	146	175	41	9 (207)
185.	Ball State University (IN)*	21	23	53/58	5 (61)	9 (207)	207	219	200	146	150	159	17 (87)
186.	University of Louisville (KY)*	21	24	59/44	-15 (247)	136 (90)	192	101	115	117	149	116	26 (25)
187.	Drexel University (PA)	21	17	69/64	-5 (198)	97 (112)	182	106	110	67	179	64	13 (136)
188.	University of Tennessee (TN)*	21	22	67/58	-9 (221)	240 (60)	109	65	131	130	155	98	11 (150)
189.	Northern Arizona University (AZ)*	21	31	56/48	-8 (215)	28 (170)	167	201	92	146	86	121	9 (200)
190.	Long Island U.—C.W. Post (NY)	20	42	39/42	3 (99)	1 (233)	246	242	207	146	207	238	11 (167)
191.	Worcester Poly. Inst. (MA)	20	13	79/76	-3 (180)	14 (190)	34	164	207	146	242	19	5 (255)
192.	Montana State University (MT)*	19	27	59/48	-11 (233)	112 (104)	162	157	145	146	102	45	9 (194)
193.	U. of Maryland—Baltimore County (MD)*	19	21	68/61	-7 (209)	66 (128)	103	149	193	146	144	164	18 (75)
194.	East Carolina University (NC)*	19	26	50/54	4 (86)	14 (193)	235	193	204	146	220	82	11 (153)
195.	Wright State University (OH)*	19	30	46/43	-3 (171)	48 (142)	216	174	197	146	197	99	16 (93)
196.	Oral Roberts University (OK)	19	34	51/52	1 (119)	0 (243)	110	242	207	146	115	240	8 (235)
197.	University of Memphis (TN)*	19	43	47/34	-13 (240)	44 (145)	237	157	172	146	229	86	10 (175)
198.	Western Michigan University (MI)*	19	22	53/54	1 (125)	18 (181)	159	157	124	146	112	80	9 (189)
199.	University of Bridgeport (CT)	18	41	30/42	12 (17)	0 (243)	202	242	207	146	242	240	7 (251)
200.	University of Rhode Island (RI)*	18	21	55/58	3 (90)	71 (122)	150	122	207	97	127	92	8 (230)
201.	Central Michigan University (MI)*	18	25	51/57	6 (53)	4 (222)	221	219	207	146	148	113	8 (223)
202.	University of Northern Colorado (CO)*	18	20	52/48	-4 (184)	3 (225)	215	199	167	146	49	169	20 (58)
203.	University of Nevada—Reno (NV)*	18	13	54/46	-8 (217)	99 (111)	166	139	42	135	138	125	29 (15)
204.	Cleveland State University (OH)*	18	45	39/31	-8 (214)	14 (189)	228	170	121	146	151	219	10 (180)
205.	Georgia State University (GA)*	18	35	54/47	-7 (212)	53 (137)	227	121	179	146	200	170	10 (178)
206.	University of Akron (OH)*	18	41	44/34	-10 (226)	28 (168)	248	116	147	95	208	139	10 (173)
207.	University of Arkansas (AR)*	17	21	67/58	-9 (224)	99 (110)	99	110	178	113	164	108	14 (119)
208.	Adelphi University (NY)	17	24	55/63	8 (36)	0 (243)	185	219	207	146	204	194	10 (185)
209.	Indiana State University (IN)*	17	32	40/41	1 (122)	2 (228)	190	209	207	146	210	165	17 (85)
210.	Nova Southeastern University (FL)	17	40	45/46	1 (118)	6 (212)	257	139	207	146	242	240	9 (213)
211.	Texas Tech University (TX)*	17	22	57/56	-1 (149)	59 (130)	138	89	116	139	168	120	8 (239)
212.	Wayne State University (MI)*	16	37	42/32	-10 (231)	221 (64)	197	69	79	108	237	227	13 (122)
213.	St. Louis University (MO)	16	12	71/74	3 (95)	48 (141)	198	167	202	142	170	177	14 (118)

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			SOCIAL MOBILITY			RESEARCH					SERVICE		
		OVERALL SCORE	% of students receiving Pell Grants	Predicted/actual grad rate based on % of Pell recipients and incoming SATs	Difference between predicted/actual grad rates (rank)	Total research spending in millions (rank)	Bachelor's to PhD rank	PhDs awarded rank	Faculty awards rank	National Academies membership rank	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study funds spent on service (rank)
214.	George Mason University (VA)*	16	19	61/58	-3 (179)	50 (139)	214	95	190	124	153	62	8 (233)
215.	New School (NY)	16	20	60/62	2 (112)	7 (211)	234	219	9	146	184	240	7 (248)
216.	Univ. of Alabama—Birmingham (AL)*	15	29	58/38	-20 (255)	331 (40)	161	68	123	101	178	65	10 (171)
217.	Texas Woman's University (TX)*	15	38	41/41	0 (137)	2 (229)	200	149	207	146	218	231	9 (215)
218.	Portland State University (OR)*	15	36	50/35	-15 (249)	29 (166)	238	191	51	146	74	229	10 (181)
219.	Hofstra University (NY)	15	21	65/53	-12 (237)	1 (237)	224	219	207	146	221	103	24 (37)
220.	Stevens Institute of Tech. (NJ)	14	18	76/76	0 (138)	26 (173)	126	152	207	86	242	209	10 (186)
221.	U. of North Carolina—Charlotte (NC)*	14	29	53/51	-2 (157)	18 (180)	230	167	88	146	188	152	5 (256)
222.	University of Texas—Arlington (TX)*	14	34	53/37	-16 (250)	29 (164)	219	98	157	146	206	52	8 (218)
223.	Samford University (AL)	14	13	63/67	4 (88)	0 (243)	40	242	62	146	211	175	9 (188)
224.	Univ. of Alabama—Huntsville (AL)*	14	27	60/44	-16 (252)	59 (129)	178	160	207	146	212	83	18 (73)
225.	East Tennessee State University (TN)*	14	32	51/38	-13 (242)	8 (209)	236	207	195	146	236	91	17 (84)
226.	University of North Texas (TX)*	13	26	57/44	-13 (239)	15 (188)	204	139	127	146	125	216	20 (55)
227.	Barry University (FL)	13	39	40/39	-1 (146)	0 (243)	249	219	207	146	242	225	10 (183)
228.	University of Central Florida (FL)*	13	21	65/59	-6 (205)	108 (105)	232	77	160	141	186	171	9 (204)
229.	Indiana U.-Purdue U.—Indianapolis (IN)*	13	29	45/31	-14 (246)	213 (68)	258	242	177	91	213	161	25 (32)
230.	Louisiana Tech University (LA)*	13	24	53/48	-5 (197)	15 (187)	186	176	207	146	242	215	23 (39)
231.	Georgia Southern University (GA)*	12	30	54/45	-9 (220)	2 (230)	240	242	195	146	232	73	9 (198)
232.	Univ. of Arkansas—Little Rock (AR)*	12	40	44/19	-25 (258)	9 (205)	251	214	207	111	226	186	30 (13)
233.	University of Houston (TX)*	11	29	53/43	-10 (225)	76 (119)	217	72	156	60	224	187	11 (164)
234.	Pace University (NY)	11	27	54/53	-1 (155)	1 (238)	255	242	159	146	166	233	8 (242)
235.	Univ. of Massachusetts—Boston (MA)*	11	32	46/33	-13 (241)	21 (178)	199	214	168	77	201	236	21 (51)
236.	Northeastern University (MA)	11	13	76/66	-10 (229)	66 (126)	218	104	81	146	156	129	9 (208)
237.	La. State Univ.—Baton Rouge (LA)*	11	17	66/58	-8 (216)	246 (59)	144	60	134	145	194	154	7 (246)
238.	New Jersey Inst. of Technology (NJ)*	10	29	60/51	-9 (223)	78 (118)	244	127	164	76	242	226	9 (196)
239.	Univ. of Missouri—Kansas City (MO)*	9	26	59/43	-16 (251)	26 (171)	211	178	207	146	165	208	20 (56)
240.	Immaculata University (PA)	9	14	46/67	21 (2)	0 (243)	250	242	207	146	242	240	7 (245)
241.	University of Texas—Dallas (TX)*	9	28	72/55	-17 (253)	44 (144)	181	99	174	80	142	230	3 (257)
242.	Florida Atlantic University (FL)*	9	26	49/38	-11 (236)	29 (165)	243	147	199	103	214	185	20 (57)
243.	University of Tulsa (OK)	9	16	72/63	-9 (222)	12 (198)	89	174	128	63	123	240	9 (206)
244.	Virginia Commonwealth University (VA)*	8	20	55/47	-8 (213)	149 (86)	233	96	126	118	136	168	8 (224)
245.	Trevecca Nazarene Univ. (TN)	7	30	50/48	-2 (161)	0 (243)	256	242	207	146	242	218	7 (253)
246.	Wichita State University (KS)*	7	29	56/42	-14 (245)	32 (161)	223	201	207	146	209	240	16 (89)
247.	Univ. of Wisconsin—Milwaukee (WI)*	7	23	51/41	-10 (230)	34 (157)	220	154	114	137	140	206	14 (112)
248.	North Dakota State University (ND)*	6	21	56/47	-9 (218)	104 (107)	179	122	207	146	163	141	8 (229)
249.	Idaho State University (ID)*	6	44	43/20	-23 (256)	17 (184)	231	197	186	146	239	174	11 (155)
250.	University of Colorado—Denver (CO)*	5	26	50/39	-11 (235)	5 (218)	193	209	207	146	106	191	9 (211)
251.	University of Alaska—Fairbanks (AK)*	5	16	50/31	-19 (254)	153 (85)	210	163	135	127	116	93	22 (45)
252.	Univ. of Louisiana—Lafayette (LA)*	4	29	50/41	-9 (219)	47 (143)	222	170	184	146	241	200	7 (249)
253.	Oakland University (MI)*	4	18	50/44	-6 (203)	9 (206)	239	181	207	146	225	240	22 (43)
254.	Univ. of Missouri—St. Louis (MO)*	3	26	57/43	-14 (244)	12 (199)	209	178	180	146	231	199	12 (145)
255.	University of Hartford (CT)	3	16	55/54	-1 (147)	2 (231)	229	242	207	146	157	213	8 (220)
256.	St. Mary's Univ. of Minnesota (MN)	2	19	52/53	1 (117)	0 (243)	191	242	207	146	242	240	8 (227)
257.	Univ. of Massachusetts—Lowell (MA)*	1	20	54/44	-10 (228)	28 (169)	208	145	99	146	190	183	7 (252)
258.	University of New Orleans (LA)*	0	33	49/24	-25 (257)	17 (183)	183	183	171	146	187	211	13 (121)

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			SOCIAL MOBILITY			RESEARCH		SERVICE		
		OVERALL SCORE	% students receiving Pell Grants	Predicted/actual grad rate based on % of Pell recipients and incoming SATs	Difference between predicted/actual grad rates (rank)	Total research spending in thousands (rank)	Bachelor's to PhD rank	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study funds spent on service (rank)
L.	Amherst College (MA)	100	18	90/96	6 (61)	3388 (10)	7	41	124	34 (8)
2.	Mount Holyoke College (MA)	94	25	79/89	10 (30)	2563 (17)	11	8	105	23 (23)
3.	Williams College (MA)	90	15	90/95	5 (76)	4074 (7)	8	10	113	14 (89)
4.	Harvey Mudd College (CA)	89	13	96/84	-12 (229)	2301 (21)	1	38	45	18 (49)
5.	Haverford College (PA)	87	11	88/91	3 (106)	967 (43)	5	84	124	41 (3)
6.	Smith College (MA)	82	26	74/86	12 (17)	3884 (9)	18	16	99	15 (80)
7.	Bryn Mawr College (PA)	82	16	80/84	4 (98)	4254 (5)	17	60	124	38 (6)
8.	Swarthmore College (PA)	79	12	93/94	1 (131)	2385 (19)	2	39	124	8 (174)
9.	Carleton College (MN)	78	11	89/93	4 (94)	1785 (26)	4	21	124	9 (167)
10.	Wellesley College (MA)	78	15	87/92	5 (85)	4032 (8)	12	59	95	17 (57)
11.	Wesleyan University (CT)	77	12	88/92	4 (88)	8170 (1)	16	47	122	16 (68)
12.	Berea College (KY)	76	80	43/63	20 (4)	0 (90)	58	108	124	8 (192)
13.	Whitman College (WA)	76	11	84/86	2 (116)	416 (70)	20	3	124	34 (9)
14.	Morehouse College (GA)	76	38	52/60	8 (44)	6008 (3)	114	181	6	11 (134)
15.	Wheaton College (IL)	74	13	83/86	3 (100)	0 (90)	23	52	8	20 (37)
16.	Reed College (OR)	73	15	87/75	-12 (228)	1118 (42)	6	2	124	8 (175)
17.	Oberlin College (OH)	71	12	85/82	-3 (171)	810 (50)	9	23	124	22 (29)
18.	St. John's University (MN)	69	14	69/80	11 (23)	0 (90)	89	33	2	11 (131)
19	Macalester College (MN)	69	13	84/86	2 (122)	2351 (20)	13	4	124	7 (208)
20.	Grinnell College (IA)	68	12	85/87	2 (123)	699 (56)	10	5	124	7 (221)
21.	Spelman College (GA)	67	39	55/78	23 (2)	3084 (12)	50	158	33	8 (188)
22.	Bowdoin College (ME)	64	13	87/88	1 (138)	2281 (22)	24	14	124	12 (117)
23.	Middlebury College (VT)	63	10	87/91	4 (99)	1767 (27)	35	11	119	16 (65)
24.	Barnard College (NY)	62	18	83/89	6 (71)	2742 (15)	21	110	124	15 (77)
25.	Vassar College (NY)	62	11	87/93	6 (70)	902 (45)	19	115	118	26 (16)
26.	Presbyterian College (SC)	62	16	67/71	4 (90)	0 (90)	152	173	3	25 (17)
27.	Ripon College (WI)	62	26	62/72	10 (26)	0 (90)	156	70	7	14 (83)
28.	Agnes Scott College (GA)	60	31	65/69	4 (96)	0 (90)	113	56	124	38 (7)
29.	Furman University (SC)	60	9	80/83	3 (102)	1433 (36)	53	76	9	14 (88)
30.	Willamette University (OR)	59	18	74/80	6 (66)	375 (75)	40	6	109	15 (70)
31.	Pomona College (CA)	57	13	93/94	1 (136)	2584 (16)	15	128	124	8 (181)
32.	Fisk University (TN)	57	48	51/53	2 (118)	6000 (4)	63	194	78	7 (232)
33.	Gustavus Adolphus Col. (MN)	56	16	77/86	9 (35)	463 (64)	44	25	47	11 (137)

OVERALL SCORE: Overall score represents the combined score of our three metrics—social mobility, research, and service—where the highest is 100 and the lowest is zero. Each individual metric is worth 33 1/3 total points.

SOCIAL MOBILITY: The first column shows the percentage of students receiving Pell Grants. The second shows the predicted rate of graduation, based on incoming SAT scores and Pell Grant percentages, versus the actual rate of graduation. The third shows the difference between the actual graduation rate and the predicted graduation rate—a measure of how well the school performs as an engine of social mobility (see "A Note on Methodology," p. 72)—arrived at by subtracting the latter from the former. (The higher the number, the better; negative numbers indicate subpar performance.) Rank follows in parentheses.

RESEARCH: The first column shows the number of dollars (in thousands) in total research expenditures. Rank follows in parentheses. The second shows the school's ranking in the number of bachelor's recipients who go on to receive PhDs, relative to school size.

SERVICE: The first column ranks the school by the number of alumni who go on to serve in the Peace Corps, relative to school size. The second column ranks the school by percentage of students who serve in ROTC. The third gives the percentage of funds in federal work-study money that goes to community service (versus non-community service); rank follows in parentheses.

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			SOCIAL MOBILITY			RESEARCH		SERVICE		
		OVERALL SCORE	% students receiving Pell Grants	Predicted/actual grad rate based on % of Pell recipients and incoming SATs	Difference between predicted/actual grad rates (rank)	Total research spending in thousands (rank)	Bachelor's to PhD rank	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study funds spent on service (rank)
34.	Colby College (ME)	56	7	87/87	0 (143)	1482 (34)	28	40	71	18 (44)
35.	Colgate University (NY)	56	9	85/90	5 (80)	1837 (25)	74	31	87	18 (51)
36.	Davidson College (NC)	55	7	86/93	7 (58)	296 (80)	41	28	22	7 (236)
37.	College of the Holy Cross (MA)	55	12	80/92	12 (18)	1254 (38)	69	153	11	7 (200)
38.	Earlham College (IN)	55	20	73/75	2 (120)	0 (90)	26	12	124	12 (108)
39.	Bucknell University (PA)	54	9	83/89	6 (65)	2841 (14)	75	63	37	12 (122)
40.	Dillard University (LA)	54	73	29/48	19 (5)	0 (90)	43	194	88	0 (245)
41.	Washington and Lee University (VA)	53	4	90/89	-1 (152)	402 (71)	92	163	48	42 (2)
42.	Tougaloo College (MS)	53	75	47/46	-1 (148)	461 (65)	124	194	84	7 (210)
43.	Bates College (ME)	52	8	85/89	4 (87)	1549 (31)	37	66	124	18 (54)
44.	Claremont McKenna College (CA)	52	11	89/89	0 (144)	0 (90)	30	134	19	12 (112)
45.	Occidental College (CA)	52	19	78/81	3 (103)	1449 (35)	29	105	124	15 (74)
46.	St. John's College (MD)	52	20	80/71	-9 (217)	0 (90)	22	68	124	23 (24)
47.	Houghton College (NY)	52	32	61/72	11 (25)	0 (90)	106	57	23	7 (211)
48.	McDaniel College (MD)	52	17	65/72	7 (51)	0 (90)	176	136	4	7 (216)
49.	Dickinson College (PA)	51	10	80/83	3 (101)	847 (48)	91	52	12	9 (156)
50.	Connecticut College (CT)	51	9	84/81	-3 (164)	1127 (41)	65	30	124	24 (21)
51.	Knox College (IL)	51	21	78/72	-6 (193)	0 (90)	68	44	124	26 (14)
52.	Talladega College (AL)	50	82	27/23	-4 (177)	0 (90)	45	194	124	12 (120)
53.	Sewanee—University of the South (TN)	50	10	76/78	2 (114)	186 (89)	36	15	124	18 (50)
54.	Hamilton College (NY)	50	11	87/88	1 (127)	1504 (33)	47	49	124	13 (95)
55.	St. Olaf College (MN)	50	12	79/86	7 (55)	854 (46)	59	9	124	7 (206)
56.	Hollins University (VA)	49	32	60/69	9 (37)	0 (90)	115	7	124	7 (207)
57.	Rust College (MS)	49	82	18/29	11 (22)	0 (90)	186	194	124	17 (58)
58.	Kenyon College (OH)	49	8	84/83	-1 (156)	0 (90)	32	26	124	19 (41)
59.	Johnson C. Smith University (NC)	49	67	36/42	6 (64)	251 (85)	182	194	32	10 (147)
60.	Colorado College (CO)	49	10	82/83	1 (132)	0 (90)	34	22	124	13 (93)
61.	Virginia Military Institute (VA)*	49	12	67/68	1 (133)	815 (49)	154	151	1	9 (168)
62.	California State U.—Monterey Bay (CA)*	48	42	46/36	-10 (220)	4107 (6)	234	174	124	39 (5)
63.	Carson-Newman College (TN)	48	33	55/52	-3 (168)	0 (90)	169	194	5	10 (150)
64.	Hobart & Wm. Smith Col. (NY)	48	17	72/71	-1 (155)	0 (90)	123	37	112	32 (12)
65.	St. Mary's Col. of Maryland (MD)*	48	11	75/83	8 (47)	417 (69)	77	17	111	13 (101)
66.	Lawrence University (WI)	48	16	80/79	-1 (147)	474 (62)	25	34	124	8 (190)
67.	Salem College (NC)	47	49	57/52	-5 (180)	0 (90)	133	157	79	22 (28)
68.	Westminster College (PA)	47	22	56/76	20 (3)	0 (90)	96	103	124	24 (20)
69.	Lewis and Clark College (OR)	46	13	78/71	-7 (200)	854 (46)	105	19	110	22 (26)
70.	Hope College (MI)	46	16	70/78	8 (48)	2926 (13)	103	35	103	7 (233)
71.	Beloit College (WI)	46	16	74/79	5 (77)	0 (90)	48	27	124	11 (128)
72.	Univ. of Puget Sound (WA)	45	15	75/76	1 (128)	431 (68)	57	13	83	7 (205)
73.	Denison University (OH)	45	11	78/79	1 (130)	375 (75)	51	20	124	13 (97)
74.	Lane College (TN)	45	90	16/25	9 (36)	0 (90)	226	194	124	7 (227)
75.	Lyon College (AR)	44	36	60/55	-5 (188)	0 (90)	191	17	124	17 (60)
76.	Ohio Wesleyan University (OH)	44	17	70/68	-2 (162)	396 (73)	85	43	124	25 (18)
77.	University of Richmond (VA)	43	9	81/86	5 (73)	1923 (24)	134	94	27	8 (178)

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			SOCIAL MOBILITY			RESEARCH		SERVICE		
		OVERALL SCORE	% students receiving Pell Grants	Predicted/actual grad rate based on % of Pell recipients and incoming SATs	Difference between predicted/actual grad rates (rank)	Total research spending in thousands (rank)	Bachelor's to PhD rank	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study funds spent on service (rank)
78.	Paine College (GA)	43	74	22/31	9 (40)	0 (90)	177	194	50	9 (172)
79.	Pine Manor College (MA)	43	65	25/53	28 (1)	0 (90)	234	194	124	7 (202)
80.	College of St. Benedict (MN)	43	16	69/82	13 (15)	0 (90)	151	50	124	19 (39)
81.	Bethany College (WV)	43	37	50/57	7 (52)	0 (90)	119	48	124	15 (71)
82.	Shimer College (IL)	43	41	70/40	-30 (252)	0 (90)	3	194	124	0 (245)
83.	Concordia Col.—Moorhead (MN)	42	19	65/69	4 (93)	0 (90)	83	100	38	18 (48)
84.	Linfield College (OR)	42	33	59/69	10 (33)	0 (90)	93	97	124	11 (132)
85.	Carroll College (MT)	42	23	61/58	-3 (167)	0 (90)	132	62	10	9 (157)
86.	Hendrix College (AR)	42	18	76/66	-10 (218)	685 (57)	27	113	97	18 (53)
87.	Lake Forest College (IL)	42	26	69/69	0 (146)	291 (81)	147	24	124	11 (138)
88.	Wesleyan College (GA)	42	38	57/52	-5 (185)	0 (90)	128	194	124	32 (10)
89.	Juniata College (PA)	41	17	69/76	7 (57)	289 (82)	76	87	124	18 (52)
90.	Illinois Wesleyan University (IL)	41	12	78/82	4 (89)	339 (78)	73	74	49	10 (144)
91.	Centre College (KY)	41	15	77/73	-4 (176)	0 (90)	64	85	29	13 (100)
92.	Cornell College (IA)	41	22	70/64	-6 (195)	0 (90)	54	29	124	13 (104)
93.	Coe College (IA)	40	24	67/67	0 (142)	0 (90)	95	178	25	16 (69)
94.	Franklin and Marshall College (PA)	40	9	81/84	3 (105)	1645 (29)	81	101	114	13 (106)
95.	Simpson University (CA)	40	49	47/50	3 (107)	0 (90)	234	194	15	9 (165)
96.	Kalamazoo College (MI)	40	10	80/78	-2 (158)	364 (77)	56	42	73	12 (119)
97.	Union College (NY)	40	13	76/86	10 (29)	1992 (23)	141	133	51	7 (225)
98.	College of Wooster (OH)	39	15	73/73	0 (140)	966 (44)	31	71	124	7 (235)
99.	Hampshire College (MA)	39	14	77/71	-6 (191)	1145 (40)	42	67	124	11 (123)
100.	Asbury College (KY)	39	27	61/64	3 (108)	0 (90)	90	177	34	15 (76)
101.	Pikeville College (KY)	39	62	39/30	-9 (213)	0 (90)	234	194	31	18 (43)
102.	Sterling College (KS)	39	44	45/50	5 (86)	0 (90)	67	194	124	17 (56)
103.	Wofford College (SC)	39	13	72/77	5 (82)	0 (90)	139	144	13	10 (153)
104.	University of Hawaii—Hilo (HI)*	39	38	46/36	-10 (219)	7843 (2)	204	132	56	11 (136)
105.	Siena College (NY)	38	18	64/80	16 (7)	447 (67)	183	192	24	12 (113)
106.	Allegheny College (PA)	38	20	72/71	-1 (149)	638 (58)	87	55	116	10 (148)
107.	Marlboro College (VT)	38	32	68/59	-9 (215)	0 (90)	142	32	124	12 (114)
108.	Austin College (TX)	38	20	73/78	5 (74)	0 (90)	86	73	124	8 (176)
109.	Whittier College (CA)	38	25	59/58	-1 (150)	0 (90)	187	51	52	21 (33)
110.	Gettysburg College (PA)	38	11	80/81	1 (137)	454 (66)	82	77	98	14 (92)
111.	Hiram College (OH)	38	32	55/61	6 (69)	0 (90)	62	69	124	7 (214)
112.	Bennett College (NC)	38	61	27/35	8 (45)	0 (90)	117	194	74	11 (130)
113.	Susquehanna University (PA)	38	16	66/82	16 (8)	0 (90)	181	126	44	14 (87)
114.	Stonehill College (MA)	38	10	72/85	13 (14)	0 (90)	174	139	42	19 (42)
115.	Doane College (NE)	37	30	57/67	10 (32)	0 (90)	185	123	86	16 (61)
116.	Guilford College (NC)	37	40	58/58	0 (145)	0 (90)	165	164	120	16 (66)
117.	Univ. of Wisconsin—Green Bay (WI)*	37	23	58/53	-5 (181)	1328 (37)	215	189	96	39 (4)
118.	College of the Atlantic (ME)	37	26	71/54	-17 (239)	0 (90)	84	98	124	26 (15)
119.	Calvin College (MI)	37	16	69/73	4 (92)	1540 (32)	97	93	68	9 (161)
120.	Jarvis Christian College (TX)	37	84	7/10	3 (104)	806 (51)	234	194	124	14 (85)
121.	Lafayette College (PA)	37	8	81/89	8 (42)	1612 (30)	46	176	67	3 (243)

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122.	American Jewish University (CA)	37	26	61/75	14 (11)	0 (90)	234	194	124	24 (19)
123.	Luther College (IA)	36	18	67/74	7 (50)	0 (90)	61	88	124	11 (135)
124.	Skidmore College (NY)	36	13	77/82	5 (79)	772 (53)	107	124	121	13 (102)
125.	Drew University (NJ)	36	18	67/71	4 (97)	0 (90)	33	116	82	9 (173)
126.	Gordon College (MA)	36	18	68/71	3 (110)	0 (90)	143	183	30	18 (46)
127.	St. Norbert College (WI)	36	16	66/71	5 (75)	0 (90)	122	190	17	12 (110)
128.	Scripps College (CA)	36	9	86/79	-7 (202)	0 (90)	52	36	85	7 (217)
129.	Millikin University (IL)	36	30	56/67	11 (19)	0 (90)	140	138	124	14 (91)
130.	Franklin Pierce University (NH)	36	24	52/41	-11 (223)	0 (90)	234	155	77	59 (1)
131.	Huntingdon College (AL)	35	34	53/51	-2 (160)	0 (90)	171	65	26	8 (197)
132.	Washington & Jefferson (PA)	35	18	67/70	3 (109)	0 (90)	144	109	124	22 (30)
133.	St. Michael's College (VT)	35	15	67/80	13 (13)	0 (90)	192	46	59	8 (182)
134.	Allen University (SC)	35	75	14/22	8 (46)	0 (90)	234	194	43	7 (228)
135.	Southwestern University (TX)	35	16	74/72	-2 (163)	0 (90)	38	141	124	14 (90)
136.	St. John's College (NM)	35	28	77/56	-21 (246)	0 (90)	39	54	124	7 (209)
137.	St. Lawrence University (NY)	35	18	71/77	6 (67)	0 (90)	155	90	57	10 (154)
138.	Judson College (AL)	35	35	53/54	1 (129)	0 (90)	159	194	18	10 (149)
139.	Nebraska Wesleyan University (NE)	34	25	63/70	7 (56)	0 (90)	172	75	63	8 (185)
140.	Transylvania University (KY)	34	21	69/73	4 (95)	0 (90)	126	135	69	13 (94)
141.	Huston-Tillotson University (TX)	34	71	25/18	-7 (197)	0 (90)	197	194	28	7 (199)
142.	DePauw University (IN)	34	14	71/81	10 (34)	211 (88)	112	86	117	9 (169)
143.	Lycoming College (PA)	34	24	56/70	14 (12)	0 (90)	173	182	64	16 (63)
144.	St. Vincent College (PA)	34	22	60/71	11 (24)	0 (90)	160	188	106	21 (35)
145.	New College of Florida (FL)*	33	20	80/56	-24 (250)	0 (90)	14	194	124	17 (59)
146.	Central College (IA)	33	24	62/72	10 (31)	0 (90)	135	80	124	7 (219)
147.	Eastern Mennonite Univ. (VA)	33	32	56/70	14 (10)	0 (90)	148	165	124	7 (203)
148.	Augustana College (IL)	33	15	69/76	7 (54)	212 (87)	104	91	124	11 (125)
149.	Alma College (MI)	33	27	61/70	9 (38)	0 (90)	71	148	124	6 (237)
150.	Wells College (NY)	33	42	58/51	-7 (199)	0 (90)	120	194	124	15 (75)
151.	Texas Lutheran University (TX)	33	33	53/55	2 (112)	0 (90)	130	122	76	14 (81)
152.	Hartwick College (NY)	33	25	61/61	0 (141)	0 (90)	72	127	124	16 (67)
153.	Trinity College (CT)	33	13	80/87	7 (53)	593 (59)	100	175	124	7 (204)
154.	College of Idaho (ID)	33	25	62/59	-3 (169)	0 (90)	137	160	81	23 (22)
155.	Albertus Magnus College (CT)	32	36	42/57	15 (9)	0 (90)	199	194	124	20 (36)
156.	Wittenberg University (OH)	32	20	65/61	-4 (174)	0 (90)	60	72	93	12 (109)
157.	University of Minnesota—Morris (MN)*	32	27	65/57	-8 (203)	0 (90)	131	78	124	16 (62)
158.	Clarke College (IA)	32	36	54/71	17 (6)	0 (90)	223	194	124	8 (193)
159.	Millsaps College (MS)	31	23	69/69	0 (139)	471 (63)	78	194	94	10 (146)
160.	Bloomfield College (NJ)	31	60	33/38	5 (81)	0 (90)	225	194	124	9 (162)
161.	Rhodes College (TN)	30	9	78/73	-5 (187)	400 (72)	101	81	40	8 (195)
162.	Meredith College (NC)	30	26	56/62	6 (62)	0 (90)	166	149	124	18 (47)
163.	West Virginia State University (WV)*	30	44	39/25	-14 (235)	2467 (18)	233	194	20	15 (78)
164.	Moravian College (PA)	30	17	64/75	11 (20)	0 (90)	98	194	62	11 (127)
165.	Evangel University (MO)	30	43	52/44	-8 (205)	0 (90)	145	185	41	9 (158)

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166.	Randolph College (VA)	30	26	63/62	-1 (151)	0 (90)	136	95	124	10 (145)
167.	Mount Union College (OH)	30	28	55/65	10 (27)	0 (90)	161	194	35	7 (224)
168.	Ursinus College (PA)	30	17	73/75	2 (111)	562 (61)	108	130	124	7 (230)
169.	Roanoke College (VA)	29	16	63/65	2 (121)	741 (55)	208	58	124	16 (64)
170.	Goshen College (IN)	29	24	65/63	-2 (161)	0 (90)	94	92	124	8 (198)
171.	St. Andrews Presb. Col. (NC)	29	24	54/43	-11 (224)	0 (90)	150	104	124	32 (11)
172.	Birmingham-Southern Col. (AL)	29	16	69/71	2 (115)	0 (90)	164	118	54	12 (121)
173.	Wheaton College (MA)	28	16	74/79	5 (83)	0 (90)	188	129	124	11 (129)
174.	Cedar Crest College (PA)	28	31	57/58	1 (126)	0 (90)	196	194	107	18 (45)
175.	Wabash College (IN)	28	18	69/71	2 (119)	265 (84)	88	61	124	0 (245)
176.	Northland College (WI)	28	35	61/54	-7 (198)	0 (90)	102	150	124	7 (226)
177.	Hampden-Sydney Col. (VA)	28	11	67/66	-1 (154)	0 (90)	179	106	16	9 (164)
178.	Emory and Henry College (VA)	27	34	52/54	2 (117)	0 (90)	175	168	124	13 (96)
179.	Wartburg College (IA)	27	24	61/67	6 (63)	0 (90)	129	120	124	7 (222)
180.	Oglethorpe University (GA)	27	31	61/53	-8 (208)	0 (90)	79	125	124	7 (223)
181.	Lindsey Wilson College (KY)	27	66	34/25	-9 (216)	0 (90)	234	194	124	11 (141)
182.	Bard College (NY)	27	12	87/76	-11 (225)	0 (90)	66	143	124	9 (160)
183.	St. Anselm College (NH)	27	13	65/71	6 (72)	0 (90)	162	112	89	15 (72)
184.	St. Mary's College (IN)	27	13	66/75	9 (39)	0 (90)	168	159	36	7 (215)
185.	Westmont College (CA)	27	13	73/69	-4 (175)	0 (90)	80	145	61	11 (133)
186.	Georgetown College (KY)	26	22	61/62	1 (134)	0 (90)	153	121	46	8 (177)
187.	Atlantic Union College (MA)	26	42	31/44	13 (16)	0 (90)	99	194	124	9 (170)
188.	Washington College (MD)	26	9	69/73	4 (91)	0 (90)	70	82	124	8 (191)
189.	Monmouth College (IL)	26	29	58/60	2 (113)	0 (90)	193	119	55	5 (238)
190.	North Greenville University (SC)	25	34	52/45	-7 (201)	0 (90)	234	194	21	14 (86)
191.	Muhlenberg College (PA)	25	7	75/83	8 (43)	326 (79)	170	191	80	12 (107)
192.	Sweet Briar College (VA)	25	13	65/71	6 (59)	0 (90)	167	45	124	8 (196)
193.	Olivet College (MI)	25	52	39/38	-1 (153)	0 (90)	203	194	91	7 (220)
194.	Maryville College (TN)	25	29	61/55	-6 (192)	0 (90)	184	111	124	11 (139)
195.	Russell Sage College (NY)	25	35	59/67	8 (49)	0 (90)	234	194	75	1 (244)
196.	Stephens College (MO)	24	29	62/58	-4 (179)	0 (90)	163	194	124	14 (82)
197.	Hastings College (NE)	24	29	56/62	6 (68)	0 (90)	178	172	124	8 (189)
198.	Simpson College (IA)	24	24	63/65	2 (125)	0 (90)	202	114	124	7 (212)
199.	Albion College (MI)	24	16	66/71	5 (78)	0 (90)	121	166	124	10 (155)
200.	Randolph-Macon College (VA)	24	15	62/52	-10 (221)	0 (90)	49	64	58	9 (163)
201.	Illinois College (IL)	24	27	60/58	-2 (157)	0 (90)	194	96	124	8 (183)
202.	McPherson College (KS)	24	39	52/33	-19 (242)	0 (90)	118	194	124	22 (31)
203.	University of Maine—Machias (ME)*	24	28	48/53	5 (84)	0 (90)	198	194	124	20 (38)
204.	U. of North Carolina—Asheville (NC)*	23	23	67/54	-13 (230)	3192 (11)	201	162	124	9 (171)
205.	Greensboro College (NC)	23	32	45/41	-4 (178)	0 (90)	216	131	124	22 (27)
206.	Pitzer College (CA)	23	15	75/71	-4 (173)	269 (83)	125	169	90	7 (234)
207.	William Jewell College (MO)	23	18	67/65	-2 (159)	0 (90)	138	179	72	12 (118)
208.	Thomas Aquinas College (CA)	22	20	78/80	2 (124)	0 (90)	148	194	124	0 (245)
209.	Green Mountain College (VT)	22	31	55/41	-14 (232)	0 (90)	234	107	124	22 (25)

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			SOCIAL MOBILITY			RESEARCH		SERVICE		
		OVERALL SCORE	% students receiving Pell Grants	Predicted/actual grad rate based on % of Pell recipients and incoming SATs	Difference between predicted/actual grad rates (rank)	Total research spending in thousands (rank)	Bachelor's to PhD rank	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study funds spent on service (rank)
210.	Bethel College (KS)	22	31	62/50	-12 (227)	0 (90)	116	194	124	13 (98)
211.	Baker University (KS)	22	27	58/59	1 (135)	0 (90)	209	170	92	10 (152)
212.	SUNY College—Old Westbury (NY)*	22	46	45/36	-9 (212)	1765 (28)	218	194	124	7 (231)
213.	Westminster College (MO)	21	21	67/59	-8 (209)	0 (90)	190	167	53	12 (111)
214.	West Virginia Wesleyan College (WV)	21	28	58/55	-3 (166)	0 (90)	158	194	124	12 (115)
215.	Albright College (PA)	21	27	54/60	6 (60)	0 (90)	212	171	115	8 (180)
216.	Berry College (GA)	21	19	65/60	-5 (182)	240 (86)	146	137	124	10 (143)
217.	Colorado State Univ.—Pueblo (CO)*	20	37	47/36	-11 (226)	586 (60)	222	194	39	13 (103)
218.	Goucher College (MD)	20	14	70/67	-3 (165)	0 (90)	110	194	101	11 (140)
219.	Wisconsin Lutheran College (WI)	20	21	65/61	-4 (172)	0 (90)	234	102	124	11 (124)
220.	Bridgewater College (VA)	20	21	56/66	10 (28)	0 (90)	199	186	102	7 (201)
221.	Kentucky Wesleyan College (KY)	19	38	50/32	-18 (241)	0 (90)	189	194	66	19 (40)
222.	Baptist Bible College (MO)	19	50	46/37	-9 (214)	0 (90)	234	194	124	7 (218)
223.	SUNY—Purchase College (NY)*	19	28	59/51	-8 (211)	0 (90)	214	156	124	14 (84)
224.	Hanover College (IN)	19	17	67/59	-8 (204)	0 (90)	55	89	124	0 (245)
225.	Eckerd College (FL)	19	21	63/58	-5 (190)	0 (90)	111	161	124	8 (184)
226.	University of Virginia—Wise (VA)*	19	36	46/41	-5 (189)	0 (90)	157	194	124	13 (99)
227.	Bennington College (VT)	18	22	72/57	-15 (237)	0 (90)	127	194	124	12 (116)
228.	Fort Lewis College (CO)*	18	28	50/30	-20 (245)	770 (54)	207	142	124	28 (13)
229.	Mesa State College (CO)*	18	32	46/41	-5 (183)	0 (90)	230	193	124	21 (34)
230.	Concordia College (NY)	17	28	45/53	8 (41)	0 (90)	217	194	124	13 (105)
231.	Christopher Newport Univ. (VA)*	17	11	71/52	-19 (243)	789 (52)	210	146	14	9 (159)
232.	Merrimack College (MA)	17	11	66/77	11 (21)	0 (90)	206	194	124	8 (186)
233.	Ferrum College (VA)	17	47	38/35	-3 (170)	0 (90)	228	194	124	7 (229)
234.	Wingate University (NC)	16	28	52/47	-5 (184)	0 (90)	219	194	100	15 (79)
235.	Centenary College of Louisiana (LA)	14	17	65/55	-10 (222)	0 (90)	109	117	124	5 (239)
236.	Bryn Athyn Col. of New Church (PA)	14	15	65/30	-35 (253)	0 (90)	234	1	124	0 (245)
237.	Coastal Carolina University (SC)*	13	25	57/44	-13 (231)	1210 (39)	229	180	60	8 (187)
238.	Mass. Col. of Liberal Arts (MA)*	13	30	51/46	-5 (186)	0 (90)	224	194	124	11 (142)
239.	Peace College (NC)	12	35	45/37	-8 (207)	0 (90)	234	99	124	5 (240)
240.	Thiel College (PA)	12	37	45/39	-6 (194)	0 (90)	213	194	124	7 (213)
241.	Warren Wilson College (NC)	11	25	66/45	-21 (247)	0 (90)	180	83	124	4 (242)
242.	Lambuth University (TN)	10	36	54/38	-16 (238)	0 (90)	220	194	124	8 (179)
243.	Marymount Manhattan Col. (NY)	10	19	59/45	-14 (236)	0 (90)	221	140	108	15 (73)
244.	Univ. of Maine—Presque Isle (ME)*	9	32	43/35	-8 (206)	0 (90)	231	187	124	11 (126)
245.	Western State College of Colorado (CO)*	9	23	54/36	-18 (240)	0 (90)	211	152	124	17 (55)
246.	Virginia Wesleyan College (VA)	8	26	50/42	-8 (210)	0 (90)	205	154	65	4 (241)
247.	Thomas More Col. of Lib. Arts (NH)	8	21	69/62	-7 (196)	0 (90)	234	194	124	0 (245)
248.	Univ. of Wisconsin—Parkside (WI)*	6	32	46/32	-14 (233)	378 (74)	227	194	123	10 (151)
249.	Brevard College (NC)	6	32	51/32	-19 (244)	0 (90)	234	147	124	9 (166)
250.	Brigham Young Univ.—Hawaii (HI)	5	26	60/46	-14 (234)	0 (90)	195	194	70	0 (245)
251.	Metropolitan State Col. of Denver (CO)*	5	29	50/23	-27 (251)	0 (90)	232	184	104	21 (32)
252.	Sierra Nevada College (NV)	4	29	49/27	-22 (248)	0 (90)	234	78	124	8 (194)
253.	College of St. Thomas More (TX)	0	30	64/40	-24 (249)	0 (90)	234	194	124	0 (245)

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A NOTE ON METHODOLOGY

There are two primary goals to our methodology. First, we considered no single category to be more important than any other. Second, the final rankings needed to reflect excellence across the full breadth of our measures, rather than reward an exceptionally high focus on, say, research. All categories were weighted equally when calculating the final score. In order to ensure that each measurement contributed equally to a school's score in any given category, we standardized each data set so that each had a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one. The data were also adjusted to account for statistical outliers. No school's performance in any single area was allowed to exceed five standard deviations from the mean of the data set. Thanks to rounding, some schools have the same overall score. We have ranked them according to their pre-rounding results.

Each of our three categories includes several components. We have determined the community service score by measuring each school's performance in three different areas: the size of its Army and Navy Reserve Officer Training Corps programs relative to the size of the school; the number of alumni currently serving in the Peace Corps relative to the size of the school; and the percentage of its federal work-study grant money spent on community service projects.

The research score for national universities is based on five measurements: the total amount of an institution's research spending (from the Center for Measuring University Performance and the National Science Foundation); the number of science and engineering PhDs awarded by the university; the number of undergraduate alumni who have gone on to receive a PhD in any subject relative to the size of the school; the number of faculty receiving prestigious awards relative to the number of full-time faculty; and the number of faculty in the National Academies relative to the number of full-time faculty. The latter two measures are new to this year's rankings. For national universities, we weighted each of these components equally to determine a school's final score in the category. For liberal arts colleges, which do not grant doctorates, baccalaureate PhDs were given double weight. Faculty awards and National Academy membership were also excluded from the research score for liberal arts colleges because we did not have data for all of the institutions.

As some readers have pointed out in previous years, our research score rewards large schools for their size. This is intentional. It is the huge numbers of scientists, engineers, and PhDs that larger universities produce, combined with their enormous amounts of research spending, that will help keep America competitive in an increasingly global economy. But the two new measures of university research productivity and quality that we have added this year—faculty awards and National Academy members relative to the number of full-time faculty (from the Center for Measuring University Performance)—are independent of a school's size. The 2009 guide continues to reward large universities for their research productivity, but these two new measures also recognize smaller institutions that are doing a good job of producing quality research.

The social mobility score is more complicated. We have data that tells us the percentage of a school's students on Pell Grants, which is a good measure of a school's commitment to educating lower-income kids. We'd like to know how many of these students graduate, but schools aren't required to track those figures. Still, because lower-income students at any school are less likely to graduate than wealthier ones, the percentage of Pell Grant recipients is a meaningful indicator in and of itself. If a campus has a large percentage of Pell Grant students—that is to say, if its student body is disproportionately poor—it will tend to diminish the school's overall graduation rate.

We have a formula that predicts the graduation rate of the average school given its percentage of Pell students and its average SAT score. (Since most schools only provide the twenty-fifth percentile and the seventy-fifth percentile of scores, we took the mean of the two. For schools where a majority of students took the ACT, we converted ACT scores into SAT equivalents.) Schools with graduation rates that are higher than the "average" school with similar stats score better than schools that match, or, worse, undershoot the mark. Two schools had comparatively low Pell Grant rates and comparatively high SAT scores, and had predicted graduation rates over 100 percent. We left these results alone to keep the metric consistent. In addition, we used a second metric that predicted the percentage of students on Pell Grants based on SAT scores. This indicated which selective universities (since selectivity is highly correlated with SAT scores) are making the effort to enroll low-income students. The two formulas were weighted equally. —*Eds.* WM

In compiling this year's rankings we established that we had made data-entry errors in our 2007 rankings. Texas A&M University was given the wrong Pell Grant number, so it placed first in the university ranking, when it should have been slightly lower down. In addition, some colleges were assigned the wrong research expenditure figures, throwing off the overall college rankings. We deeply regret these past errors and have changed our procedures for compiling the annual rankings so that they do not recur.

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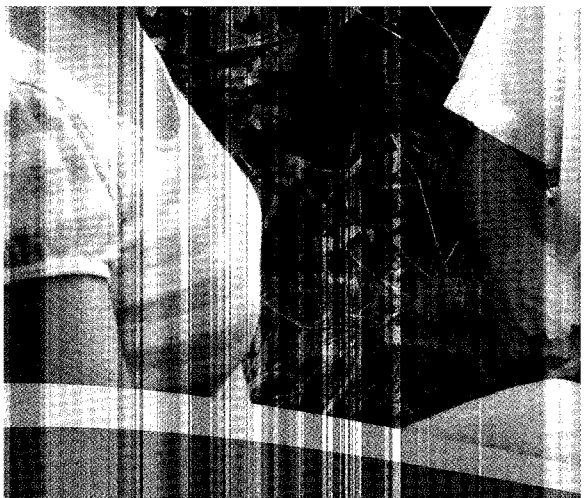

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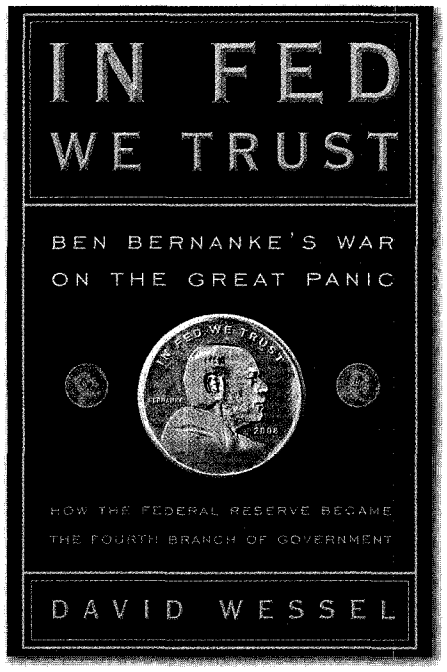
Fed Up



In Fed We Trust: Ben Bernanke's War on the Great Panic
by David Wessel
Crown, 336 pp.

Did Ben Bernanke really save America's financial system?

By James K. Galbraith

David Wessel's new account of the Great Crisis, *In Fed We Trust*, has many merits: it is timely, well written, and informative. The protagonists—Ben Bernanke, Henry Paulson, and Timothy Geithner—were faced in September 2008 with a supreme challenge. Wessel gives us, without judgment, a narrative of what they did. As history, this is first-draft stuff, but it's as good a first draft as one could hope for, less than a year after the events it describes.

Wessel begins with the collapse of Lehman Brothers, as the crisis climaxed. We see the government acting as the ultimate investment banker, an ur-manager for the too-big-to-fail. Bernanke, Geithner, and Paulson shuttle between New York and Washington, send signals, urge Lehman to find a buyer, court Bank of America and then Barclays, and pressure other Wall Street CEOs to join a deal. It is all in direct line of descent from J. P. Morgan's epic rescue of the Trust Company of New York in the panic of 1907—a comparison Wessel does not neglect to draw.

Bernanke, Paulson, and Geithner could not repeat Morgan's achievement. They did try. Ben Bernanke, the academic economist, had no sympathy with the oft-stated view that such matters should be left to the market; in Wessel's words, he "thought that was idiocy." And though Paulson "made what sounded like an unambiguous declaration that he had been unwilling, not unable, to save Lehman," Wessel contradicts him: "That was not true." At the time (later statements revealed) they doubted the government had legal authority to rescue—with public funds—an investment bank whose assets were largely pledged or worthless, and so could not be used as security for a public loan. Two days later, when AIG failed, they paid for this judgment. After that, lesson learned, whatever powers were needed would be found, and no other large financial institution would be permitted to fail.

From this opening, the story turns to the Federal Reserve, the institution whose face for so many years was Alan Greenspan, secular oracle, the man who believed in markets. As Wessel documents, Greenspan did not miss the housing bubble. He saw the crisis coming. He was warned of the impending crash, notably by the late Fed Governor Edward Gramlich. He knew what he would have to do. But he elected—he chose—not to do it.

Greenspan's reputation is now shattered, not least by his own confessions, but it is still useful to read here of the cult of obsequy that surrounded the Federal Reserve chair in his time. Wessel quotes a cringe-inducing 2005 assessment by economists Alan Blinder and Ricardo Reis: "No one has yet credited Alan Greenspan with the fall of the Soviet Union or the rise of the Boston Red Sox, although both may come in time as the legend grows." The chapter on Greenspan is aptly titled "Age of Delusion"—a phrase borrowed from a manuscript Ben Bernanke had been working on at Princeton. Bernanke's subtitle: "How Politicians and Central Bankers Created the Great Depression."

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Ben Bernanke ascended to Greenspan's post by dint of academic merit, low-keyed but clearly superior intelligence, and—most curiously—a largely apolitical appointment process within that most political of White Houses, that of George W. Bush. (Wessel explains that Fed Governor Kevin Warsh, "the networker," acted as Bernanke's link to high Republican politics. Will President Obama now give the Fed a comparable link to the Democrats? Don't hold your breath.) Once in, Bernanke set out to shape monetary policy to his academic values: collegiality, transparency, more focus on what he imagined was the Fed's core mission, namely "fighting inflation." Clearly the Age of Delusion wasn't over.

Bernanke's merit, in these pages, was quick learning. By Wessel's timetable, learning took hold in December 2007, when he first moved to cut rates in order to ward off, or anyway help mitigate, the oncoming recession. (The financial crisis had started the previous August, with the collapse of the interbank lending market.) Soon there would be the forced sale of Bear Stearns, which was at—or perhaps over—the limits of law and precedent in central banking. To Vincent Reinhart, a former senior Fed staffer, it "meant that the Fed would always be expected to bring money to the table when trying to arrange the rescue of a big financial firm." With AIG, with TARP, and after, the commitments cascaded—dollars by the trillions went into commercial paper, into the banks, into foreign central banks—in processes neither collegial nor transparent. Thus, in the phrase that forms the second subtitle of this book, "the Federal Reserve became the fourth branch of government." And the system survived.

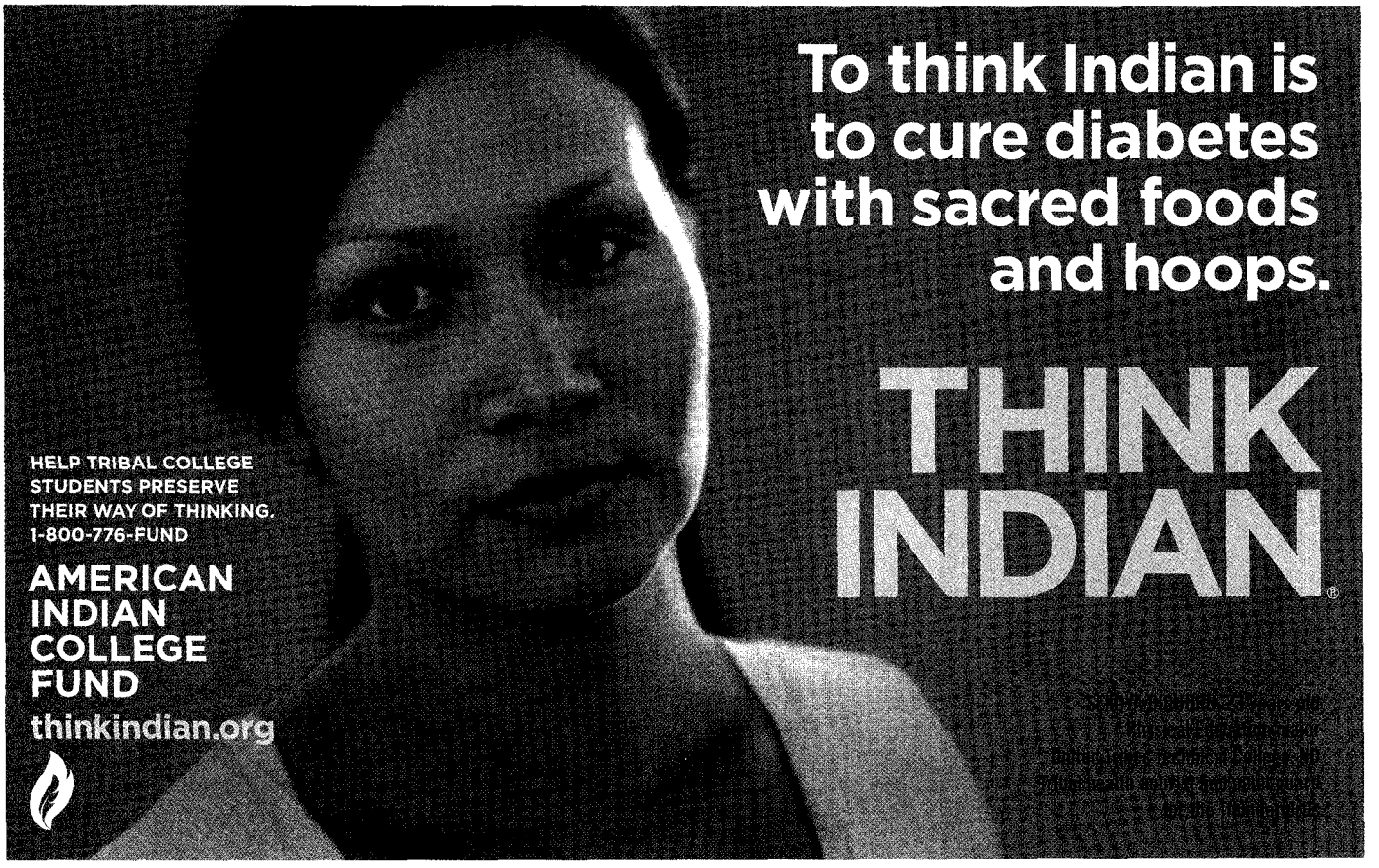
Or did it?

There is a larger book, as yet unwritten, for which *In Fed We Trust* will prove a valuable source. That work will have to take on the questions that merely frame the narrative here.

The first question is: Did the system actually survive? It is true that checks still clear, that incipient runs on small banks and money markets were stopped, that neither the dollar nor the euro collapsed, and that the major commercial banks were not nationalized. But does all this add up to survival of finance capitalism as we knew it? Can we expect, with moderate passage of time, that households will resume borrowing, banks will resume lending, and that before long we will pick up the pattern of our economic lives as before?

Or does the fact that the Federal Reserve was prompted, in the heat of the crisis, to issue trillions of direct loans to private institutions fundamentally strip away the capitalist character of the system? Are we left with a system of large institutions of doubtful solvency, state dependent, unable to function without an implicit public guarantee, and therefore also needing government approval for their actions? If so, how is this system different from that in, say, the People's Republic of China? Wessel notes that Chinese observers described the result as "socialism with American characteristics." It's not necessarily a joke.

Second, one must ask whether the Bernanke-Paulson-Geithner measures ac-



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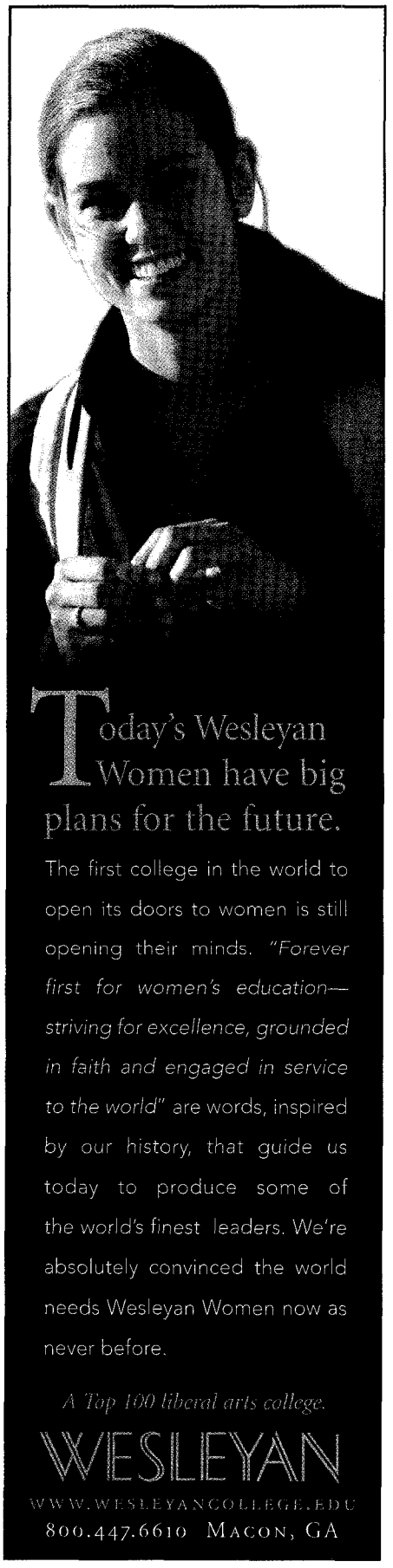

tually worked, not just in the sense of stopping bank runs, not just to put a floor under a deep slump, but in the larger sense of laying the foundation for a strong recovery and return to high employment.

Were the massive frauds that underlay the housing debacle rooted out, their perpetrators prosecuted and jailed? Not yet. Were foreclosures stemmed? Not yet. Have housing prices reached bottom? There is some evidence for that. Will housing construction recover? Not for years. Did "quantitative easing" get lending started again? Not in a way that would support new business investment or household borrowing.

And how could it? It was the *borrowers*, not the lenders, who last fall precipitated the *economic* downturn. Auto sales didn't collapse because willing buyers could not get loans: they collapsed because people stopped buying cars. Without collateral, without home equity, without job security, householders decided, en masse and rationally, to save what they could. Without prospects for profit, businesses slashed their investment. And when tax cuts were injected by congressional conservatives into the stimulus plan, these too were saved, not spent. And so the housing crisis drags on, and the crises of state and local government finance, and the crisis of mass unemployment, show no signs, yet, of abatement.

Eventually stimulus funds will get spent. Eventually, households will start needing new cars and even new houses. But as the weeks go on, that moment seems to recede. Meanwhile the chorus of deficit hawks and "exit strategists" is swelling—and it looks like the next moves in macro policy will be toward contraction, not growth. It does not help that economic forecasters are always predicting a return to growth six months hence; such forecasts, though often wrong, serve to protect policymakers from pressure to action.

Perhaps, then, the Bernanke-Paulson-Geithner strategy was wrong? Perhaps the right thing to do would have been to put several large institutions through receivership, if not last September then from the start of Obama's presidency in January 2009? Looking narrowly at monetary policy, perhaps Bernanke and company are wrong that their zero-interest policy helps stimulate activity: no one wants the cheap funds, while low rates reduce income from interest, cutting into spending power. Perhaps it would have been better to keep interest rates up, and to double or triple direct federal spending on investment, in support of state and local budgets and of private purchasing power. Perhaps the right thing would have been less focus on saving banks, and much more on saving jobs, families, and homes.

We will not know for sure, because our leaders did not take this path.

Finally, there is a question of character. David Wessel's method is to treat each of his major protagonists as an upstanding public servant, hardworking and incorruptible. I do not criticize this approach; otherwise he could not have written the book, and anyway, Wessel is convinced that this view is correct, and there is plenty of evidence—long hours worked, hard decisions made—that supports it. In the history of George Bush's presidency, no one will confuse Bernanke, Paulson, and Geithner with, say, Michael Brown of FEMA or Paul Wolfowitz and the others who planned the invasion of Iraq.

Still, historians will have a harsher task. Did Ben Bernanke's academic commitment to Milton Friedman's monetarist principles (including "inflation targeting") render him unable to raise warnings, to see dangers, and to take action early enough? Do these ideas today still cause him to overrate monetary policy and underrate what is needed in new spending? Was Henry Paulson influenced, perhaps even driven, by loyalties to Goldman Sachs? Was Timothy Geithner too close to Wall Street—a deal maker, an investment banker—when an actual regulator was required? Is the Age of Delusion over yet?

Time, investigations, and greater detachment than found here will settle these issues, later on. WM

James K. Galbraith is the author of *The Predator State: How Conservatives Abandoned the Free Market and Why Liberals Should Too.* His cover story in our March/April issue, "No Return to Normal," will be included in *Best American Political Writing 2009,* forthcoming from PublicAffairs.

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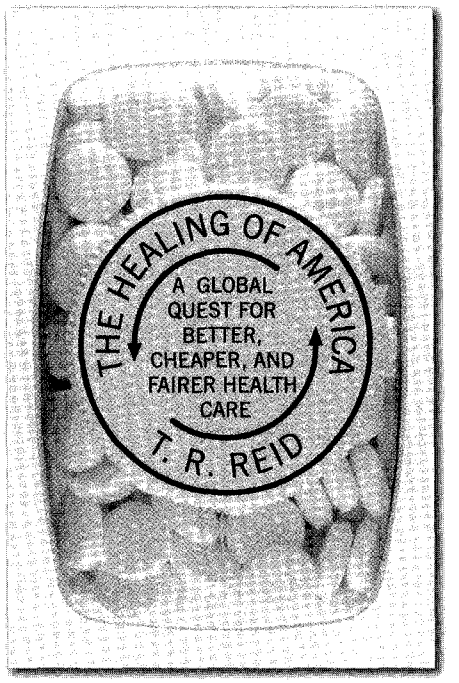
America, Heal Thyself

What other countries can't teach us about controlling health care costs.

By Shannon Brownlee



The Healing of America: A Global Quest for Better, Cheaper, and Fairer Health Care

by T. R. Reid
Penguin Press, 288 pp.

It's no secret that the United States has the most expensive health care system in the world. We spend nearly twice as much per person as do other developed countries for health outcomes that are no better and in some cases much worse. Moreover, the citizens of most other countries, including Canada and the U.K., who are routinely reviled by opponents of "socialized" medicine, express greater satisfaction with their health care systems than we do with ours.

All of which adds up to an obvious conclusion to author T. R. Reid: we have a lot to learn from these foreigners. "We can bring about fundamental change [in our system] by borrowing ideas from foreign models of health care," he writes. Part analysis, part amusing travelogue, *The Healing of America* represents an admirable mission, as Reid travels the globe in an effort to understand why our care is so much more expensive—and less effective—compared to that of other countries. Along the way, he takes his bum shoulder, the result of an injury sustained while serving in the military in the 1970s, to a series of doctors and healers in far-flung cities, to illustrate how different caregivers approach the treatment of joint stiffness and pain. Reid may be right that there are lessons to be learned from other systems that could inform the debate we're now having about the quality and cost of our own health care, but they are not the lessons that are put forth in this book.

In trying to explain the root causes of our astronomically expensive system, Reid falls back on two widely held but inadequate assumptions about what's driving American health care spending. The first is the price we pay for each medical service compared with prices for the same service in other countries. At each stop in his tour of foreign health care systems, Reid hammers this point home. We learn that an MRI of the head costs $105 in Japan versus anywhere from $1,000 to $1,400 in the U.S. A visit to the orthopedist to look at his shoulder in France costs $34, versus three to four times that in the United States.

Reid is right that we pay more for many individual treatments than do citizens of other countries. But in his relentless litany of price differentials he fails to convey the simple but vital point that costs in medicine, as in any industry, are a function of both price and volume. What also distinguishes us from other countries is the amount of health care we consume, especially of the most expensive kinds of care. We undergo three times more MRI scans than the OECD average. Our doctors prescribe more brand-name drugs and fewer generics. We undergo more elective surgeries than citizens of France, Switzerland, and Germany. We run to the specialist at the drop of a hat, partly because we have more specialists and fewer primary care physicians. That specialist is often quick to recommend an expensive procedure or surgery when physical therapy, painkillers, or some other, less invasive form of treatment will work just as well or better. Reid's own story about his aching shoulder illustrates this point. His American doctor immediately recommended a complete shoulder replacement, while every other doctor he saw in other countries suggested he try less draconian remedies first.

Reid's second explanation for high American health care costs is the mammoth overhead built into our private health insurance market. "[I]nsurance firms ... soak up a

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significant share of the premium dollar to cover the costs of marketing, underwriting, and administration, as well as their profit," he writes. "Economists agree that this is about the most expensive possible way to pay for a nation's health care."

Again, Reid's critique is right, as far as it goes. It just doesn't go very far. Let's do the math. While a majority of Americans are covered by private insurance, mostly through their employers (and some of it through not-for-profit Blue Cross and Blue Shield companies), government pays for nearly half of the total we spend on health care. About 46 percent of the $2.4 trillion we spent last year came through Medicare, Medicaid, the Veterans Administration, and other military payers. Another 12 percent came directly out of patients' pockets. That leaves 42 percent of the total funneling through private insurers.

How much gets eaten up by paper pushing and profits within private insurance companies? Reid says it's 20 percent. Okay, then: 20 percent of 42 percent of $2.4 trillion comes to $202 billion. That's a lot of money, to be sure, so let's calculate how much we could realistically save if the health care fairy were to wave her magic wand and slash insurance company overhead to, say, the level of France's system, which like ours is quasi-private, and which, according to Reid, spends 5 percent on administration. We would save about $151 billion a year.

I'm underwhelmed. Even if we could slash $151 billion off our expenditures, our health care bill would still be vastly higher on a per capita basis than that of any other developed nation. More to the point, cutting private insurance administrative costs would have no effect on the underlying factors driving the accelerating rate of growth in health care spending. Even with a rock-bottom overhead of 5 percent, Medicare spending is going up almost as fast as that in the private sector. Reducing that rate of cost increase is what everybody in Washington is talking about when they say we need to "bend the curve." Cutting administrative waste would move the starting costs downward without changing the curve's slope.

Reducing that rate of health care cost increase is what everybody in Washington is talking about when they say we need to "bend the curve." Cutting administrative waste would move the starting costs downward without changing the curve's slope.

This is a problem other developed countries are also facing, though Reid doesn't dwell on this fact. Between 1990 and 2003, according to a Kaiser Family Foundation report, American health care costs grew at an annual rate that was 3.3 percent faster than our GDP. During that same period, health care spending in Switzerland, the country whose system is favored by many conservatives, grew at almost exactly the same rate, 3.2 percent faster than GDP. France's went up 2 percent, Japan, 2.1 percent, Belgium, 2.9. Canada's spending grew at a mere 0.9 percent, a rate that would make most American health care analysts do backflips if we could bring our spending growth down to that level. But there's not much chance of that happening. Canada has a true single-payer system in which the government sets annual budgets for health care and providers have to find ways to care for patients within those bounds. France, Switzerland, Germany, and most of the other countries Reid describes all pay for health care more like we do, with a combination of public and private insurance.

And yet even in Canada, health care costs are rising faster than GDP. That leads to an obvious question: What is driving everybody's health care spending up? The aging of populations plays a roll, but it looms considerably smaller than most people assume. A bigger factor is medical innovation: new drugs, surgical techniques, screening tests, implantable devices, imaging machines, and so on. In many industries, innovation brings prices down. But in health care, medical innovation nearly always costs more than whatever it was doctors were doing before.

Some medical innovations have been well worth the costs. Death rates among people who suffer heart attacks, for instance, have dropped dramatically in recent decades, thanks to the development of new clot-busting drugs, the ability to open coronary arteries with angioplasty and stents, and drugs that can prevent damage to the heart muscle. Unfortunately, not all medical innovations have actually led to better health outcomes. Some have proven to be more harmful, while many others are no better than existing treatment, they're just more expensive.

For example, doctors used to respond to patients suffering from syncopy, or fainting spells, by simply measuring their blood pressure. Now physicians use several tests, including an electroencephalogram, which measures electrical signals in the brain, a CT scan of the head, and a blood test to detect enzymes that might signal a heart attack. In a study published this summer in the *Archives of Internal Medicine*, a group of researchers at Yale looked at the records of 2,100 patients with syncopy. About 95 percent of them were given an electroencephalogram and the enzyme test. Another 63 percent got a CT scan. Only 38 percent of the time did physicians take the patient's blood pressure when he was lying down and then again when he was sitting or standing. Guess which one yielded the most accurate diagnosis and led to the right treatment most often? The good old blood pressure cuff. Meanwhile, those other tests often just added to the bill.

How much of the new technologies and treatments that we throw at patients actually helps them, and how much is unnecessary waste, or in fact puts them at greater risk of injury or death? No one

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can really say, because we devote the equivalent of one-tenth of 1 percent of our health care spending to studies like the one conducted at Yale—studies that actually compare new treatments and technologies to old ones.

Another factor driving the rise in health care costs is the increase in chronic illnesses like diabetes, heart disease, and autoimmune disorders. These conditions are expensive to treat, because patients have them from the time they are diagnosed until death. It's estimated that chronic conditions account for 75 percent of health care spending in the U.S. Chronic illnesses also tend to require more complex treatment regimes, with numerous specialists having to coordinate their care—something the fractured American system doesn't do very well, to put it mildly. The complexity only grows as new (and unproved) treatments and techniques are added to the mix. The results are soaring costs as well as high rates of medical errors.

All of these issues and other factors driving health care costs are now part of the health care reform conversation in Washington. At least some of them are likely to be addressed in whatever legislation emerges—presuming a bill does emerge. Reid, however, gets into almost none of this. He glosses right over the need for better medical evidence. He has little to say about why all countries, not just the U.S., must do a better job of coordinating care. He is silent on the need for incentives to encourage the creation of "accountable care organizations"—health systems like the Mayo Clinic, Kaiser Permanente, and the Cleveland Clinic, which have a better record of keeping costs down while effectively managing the care of the sickest, and most expensive, patients, and which President Obama and others have held up as models.

A distinguished and highly accomplished foreign correspondent, Reid appears not to know what he doesn't know about the scientific and economic complexity of health care. He also gets his medical facts wrong, stating there are "millions of deaths each year" in the developing world from smallpox (smallpox was eradicated from the planet more than thirty years ago), that polio is a "bone-twisting" disease (it destroys nerves and can lead to muscle wasting), and that the U.K.'s National Health Service won't give him a prostate-specific antigen, or PSA, test, because it's not cost-effective (the NHS, in fact, does pay for PSA testing, but doctors in the U.K. don't encourage it, having figured out long before we did that the test hasn't been shown to reduce mortality, while leading to unnecessary and potentially harmful surgery). Health care reform is going to take a lot more than cutting the insurance industry's overhead and slashing the prices of medical services. It's also going to require profound and sustained changes in the way care is delivered. But you wouldn't know any of that from reading *The Healing of America*. WM

Shannon Brownlee is a senior research fellow at the New America Foundation and author of *Overtreated: Why Too Much Medicine Is Making Us Sicker and Poorer.*

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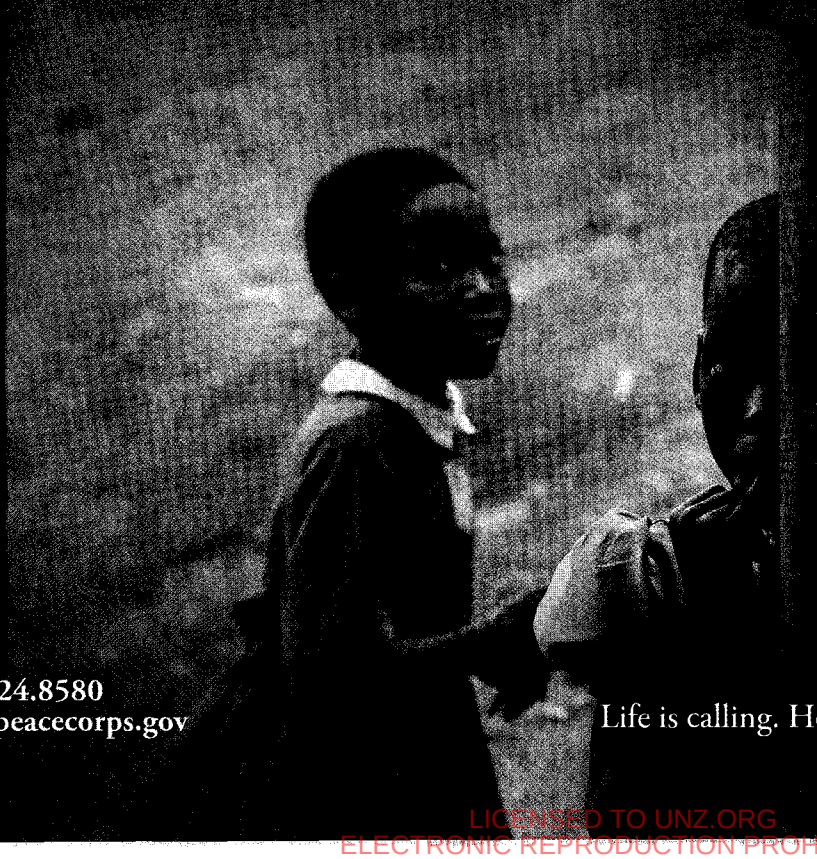

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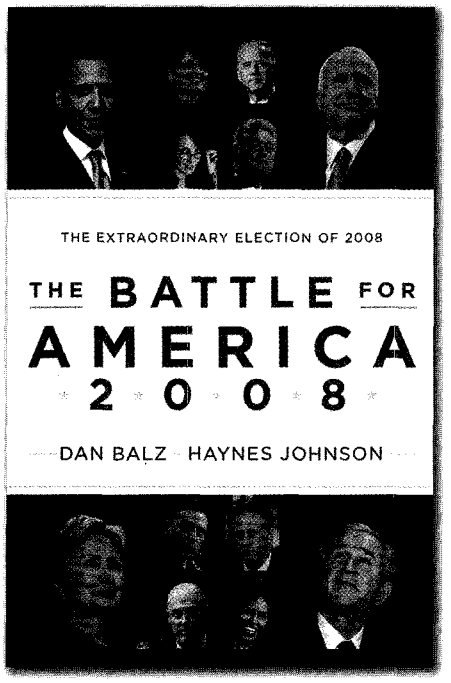

The Battle for America 2008: The Story of an Extraordinary Election

by Dan Balz and Haynes Johnson
Viking, 432 pp.

The Making of the Presidential Campaign Book 2008

Does the old-school election postmortem still have a place in the twenty-four-hour news cycle world?

By Ed Kilgore

Anyone in American political journalism above a certain age has probably harbored the occasional fantasy about becoming "the next Teddy White." That's because White's *The Making of the President 1960* stands as the rare example of a journalist indelibly defining the popular memory of a major political event.

Others have sought to replicate White's stunning accomplishment, with limited success, including White himself in his three sequels. Hunter Thompson's gonzo take on the genre, *Fear and Loathing: On the Campaign Trail '72* was the most enduring, and Richard Ben Cramer's tome on the 1988 campaign, *What It Takes*, was probably the most influential. Quite a few cycles passed without any real aspirant to White's mantle.

Now come Dan Balz and Haynes Johnson with the latest entry, *The Battle for America 2008*. Given the extraordinary nature of the 2008 elections—particularly the anachronistically extended Democratic primary contest and the historic outcome—it's as good a time as any to try to recapture the White Magic. Balz is universally considered to be among the best political reporters of his generation, and Johnson's big-time resume dates back to his Pulitzer for civil rights coverage in the 1960s.

Their book will inevitably compete for attention and sales with Richard Wolffe's *Renegade: The Making of a President*, which, despite its deliberate evocation of White in the subtitle, is focused entirely on Barack Obama and doesn't purport to offer a comprehensive review of the entire multicandidate campaign.

The main problem Balz and Johnson face is the exponential increase in political coverage since Teddy White's salad days, via cable television and the Internet. Their target audience, the amateur political junkie, is likely to have absorbed countless hours of MSNBC, Fox, CNN, and/or the blogosphere throughout the 2008 cycle. So Balz and Johnson must add something to the accumulated wisdom of all that talk, or challenge it.

In time-honored journalistic fashion, the book adds to prior coverage with extensive interviews of campaign insiders, from the candidates on down. This does provide some interesting heat and light, but it also creates some possible distortions. It's clear, for example, that the book suffers from the eagerness of Clinton campaign veterans to recall their many conflicts; you find yourself wondering how she survived so long, or how the infighting (which

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isn't terribly unusual in presidential campaigns) affected specific strategic and tactical decisions. The authors tend to attribute good developments to the candidate herself, and bad developments to her advisers, which is always a questionable approach in highly complex modern campaigns.

Similarly, while Balz and Johnson provide a very useful account of the old-fashioned labor-intensive aspects of the now-legendary Obama field operation, they tend to avoid what others have probably overemphasized: the use of the Internet—and, particularly, social media—in field organizing and fundraising. You have to guess that this may have something to do with the particular Obama staffers they were able to interview in depth. And, speaking of the Internet, the authors completely miss one of the more fascinating sub-stories of the Obama campaign: its success in end-running and eventually coopting the progressive blogosphere, which gave the candidate some serious running room for "centrist" ideological heresy in both the primaries and the general election.

Balz and Johnson definitely do an admirable job of policing the conventional mainstream media wisdom about the 2008 campaign, and correcting some common misperceptions. Here are just two examples from the Clinton and McCain campaigns:

The main narrative heard last year was that Hillary Clinton lost the Democratic nomination because she campaigned on the ineffective themes of "inevitability" and "experience" at the beginning; and then, after recovering from her Iowa defeat, at a crucial moment she let her husband wreck her campaign with offensive comments about race and Obama.

Balz and Johnson emphasize two less dramatic, but ultimately more significant decisions: one, HRC's commitment to a full (if dangerously late) effort in Iowa, her very worst state, which she predictably lost, at the cost of her momentum and of the resources she needed to win in later states; and two, her failure to compete at all in the Super Tuesday caucus states, which wiped out any delegate advantage she might have secured by nearly sweeping the major-state primaries that day.

They do spend some serious time on Bill Clinton's role in his wife's campaign, but limit the major damage he inflicted to a particular moment around the South Carolina campaign when his polarizing talk began to alienate superdelegates.

Aside from these two issues in the Democratic contest, Balz and Johnson also catch something that a remarkable number of observers never quite figured out: the galvanizing effect of Obama's win in lily-white Iowa on African Americans who had earlier doubted he could ever win white voters and feared his candidacy as a provocation to racists. This one factor catapulted him over Clinton as the front-runner in many later primaries.

On the Republican side, most postmortems suggested that John McCain won the nomination because of the "next-in-line rule," whereby GOPers are thought to invariably choose a well-known candidate who has been vetted in at least one prior contest. Balz and Johnson are emphatic in arguing that McCain's nomination victory, while indeed a testament to his persistence, was mainly attributable to a weak field and mistakes by his opponents. Like Hillary Clinton, Mitt Romney got drawn into the time-and-money pit of Iowa (which distracted him from what he needed to do to croak McCain in New Hampshire), yet didn't commit enough to win the caucuses. Rudy Guiliani's late-state strategy never made any sense, and unsurprisingly failed.

Fred Thompson was the on-paper favorite of many pundits, but his indolent campaign was limited to one strong effort in South Carolina, which took just enough votes away from Mike Huckabee to kill off his candidacy. The Thompson campaign offers one of the best of many insider anecdotes produced by Balz and Johnson:

> *"Fred was sold a bill of goods about what it took to run for president," communications director Todd Harris later told us. "He was given the distinct impression by people who have never even worked on a presidential campaign, much less mapped one out, that in 2008 all you needed to do was have a heavy blog presence, appear regularly on Fox News and specifically on Hannity & Colmes, and from time to time go out and have an event."*

Yet another strong point of the book is its detailed treatment of McCain's decision to make Sarah Palin his running mate. She was not, as many people in both parties seem to believe, a panicky last-minute choice made with minimal vetting in order to shock a political world expecting Romney, Joe Lieberman, or Tom Ridge. Through interviews with McCain's staff, Balz and Johnson determined that she was on the short list for well over a month, and she went through exactly the same vetting process as everyone else. By the time of her final vetting and interview with McCain, all the pro-choice options had been taken off the table out of fear of a convention-floor fight, and the conspicuously wealthy Romney had been scratched immediately after McCain confessed he couldn't remember how many homes he owned. The ultimate decision was between Palin and Tim Pawlenty, and McCain's pollsters were telling him he'd almost certainly lose if he didn't change the dynamics of the race. Chief vetter A. B. Culverhouse offered McCain this bottom line on Palin: "John, high risk, high reward." There was nothing wrong or "hasty" about that assessment.

The authors completely miss one of the more fascinating sub-stories of the Obama campaign: its success in end-running and eventually coopting the progressive blogosphere, which gave the candidate some serious running room for "centrist" ideological heresy in both the primaries and the general election.

If the book has any real weakness, it's one that afflicts virtually all personality-

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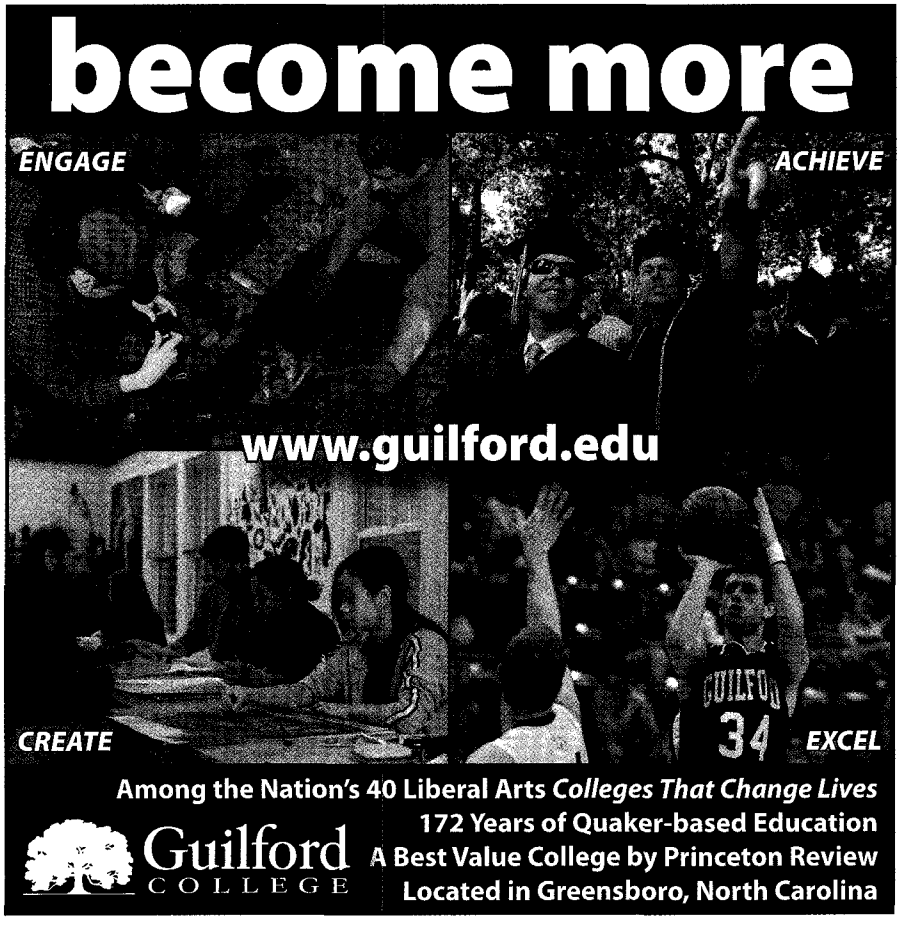

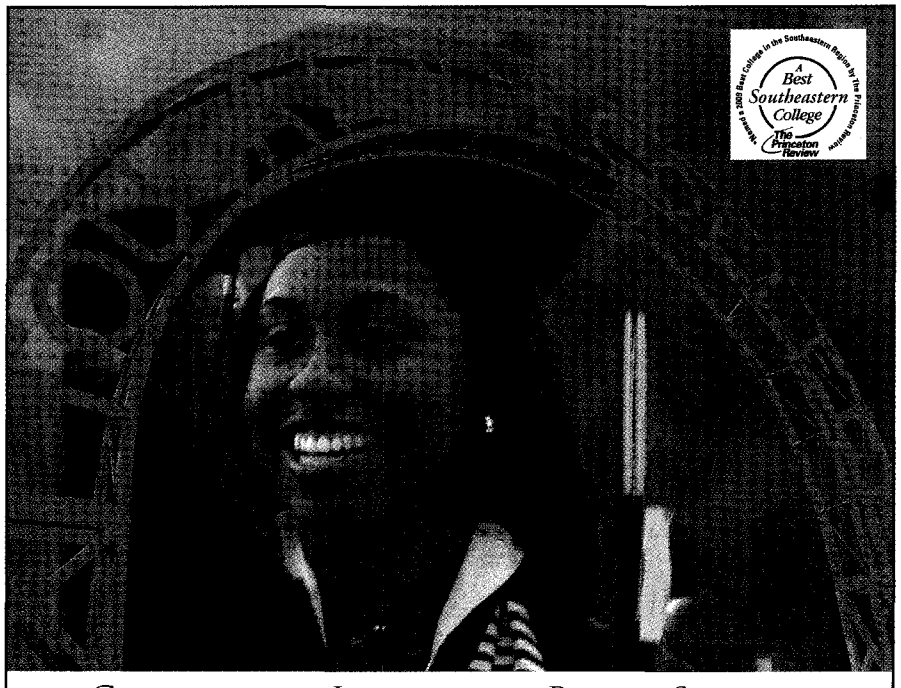

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and-event-driven accounts: a persistent understatement of the fundamentals, particularly demographic factors. Yes, in their analysis of the Democratic contest Balz and Johnson talk a lot about racial and gender issues, and Hillary Clinton's eventual appeal to white working-class Democrats. But they don't much convey the extent to which demographic divisions regularly trumped money, issues, campaign dynamics, and news events. For a long stretch of time, you could predict the primary results in many states with considerable precision by simply looking at census data. That makes it especially unfortunate that the book happens to ignore the few primaries—notably Georgia, Wisconsin, and Virginia—where Obama seemed to have broken the demographic mold, an important precursor to the party unity achieved in the late summer and fall.

Balz and Johnson also fall somewhat short in assessing the impact of demographics on McCain's increasingly desperate general election campaign. For example, they treat the bizarre appearance of Joe the Plumber at the center of the McCain campaign as an insignificant sideshow, rather than what it was: a convoluted effort to tie racial, gender, and class appeals to reactionary tax policies.

For some of the same structural reasons, the book ultimately feels as herky-jerky and exhausting as the campaign itself. There are too many turning points, too many crucial decisions, and too many key people in this book; you get to the conclusion longing for more analysis and "narrative arc." In fact, in an interview reprised in the last chapter, President-elect Obama provides some of the better big-picture analysis in the entire book.

But make no mistake: at a time when the Big Campaign Book has become a lost form, Balz and Johnson have set a very high standard for comprehensive reporting. As personal memories of the 2008 campaign fade or are distorted by subsequent events, *The Battle for America 2008* will provide an exceptionally accurate record of a very complicated and momentous election year. Teddy White would be proud. WM

Ed Kilgore is managing editor of the *Democratic Strategist* and a senior fellow at the Progressive Policy Institute.

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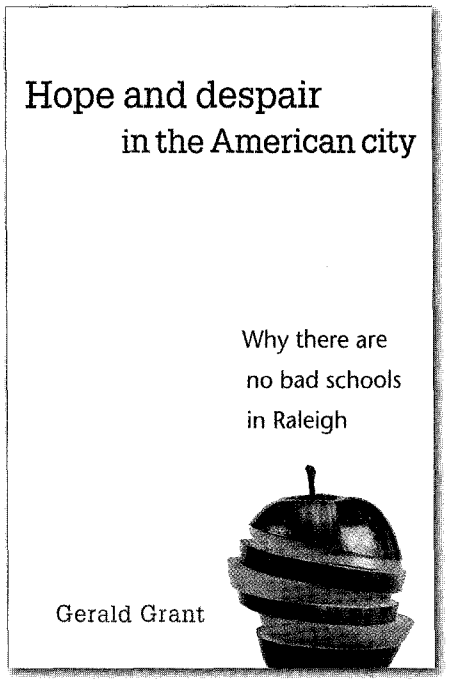
Cutting Class

Economic integration may be the key to fixing America's schools, but Washington is scared to even talk about it.

By Richard D. Kahlenberg



Hope and Despair in the American City: Why There Are No Bad Schools in Raleigh
by Gerald Grant
Harvard University Press, 226 pp.

In this perceptive and important new book, Gerald Grant tells a modern tale of two cities —Syracuse, New York, and Raleigh, North Carolina—that took starkly different approaches to improving schools and communities. Syracuse trod the well-worn path of trying to revitalize local communities and pouring extra resources into high-poverty schools, a strategy that failed miserably. Raleigh, by contrast, merged with suburban Wake County and sought to integrate school populations, first by race, and then, more recently, by socioeconomic status. The district, Grant writes, "reduced the gap between rich and poor, black and white, more than any other large urban educational system in America." The book raises an important question: Why, even in the age of Obama, is 95 percent of education reform about refining the Syracuse strategy rather than replicating Raleigh's?

Grant, an emeritus professor of education and sociology at Syracuse University, began his work as a tutee of one of the giants of twentieth-century sociology and education, James Coleman. The legendary 1966 Coleman Report, authorized by Congress, found that after the socioeconomic status of the family a child comes from, a school's socioeconomic composition is the most important predictor of achievement. As Grant writes, "The norms of a good school are shaped more by the children who come through the door than the dollars spent on books, buildings, laboratories, teacher salaries, or other traditional measures of school quality." Low-income students do better in middle-class schools, Coleman found, and the achievement of middle-class children is not harmed by the presence of low-income students so long as the school is predominantly middle class. In majority-middle-class schools, Grant notes, low-income students are exposed to classmates who achieve at high levels and expect to attend college. Parents volunteer in the classroom, and well-qualified teachers hold students to high standards.

In the late 1960s, Syracuse did try to integrate its schools by race, but because the plan was confined to the city, rather than the general metropolitan area, schools quickly hit a tipping point at which middle-class students—and many teachers—fled. Before long, Syracuse, like many cities, was in the business of trying to "fix" its de facto segregated high-poverty neighborhoods and schools—an effort Grant himself joined.

A resident of Syracuse's Westcott neighborhood, bordered by Syracuse University on one side and a major housing project on the other, Grant sent his children to the public schools and became involved in neighborhood revitalization efforts to reduce crime and reclaim civic spaces. More broadly, Syracuse built a new convention center and art museum, and increased spending on education substantially. But, Grant notes, "segregated institutions for the poor cannot be equalized solely by pumping more dollars into them." The low-income student population increased to more than 70 percent of students. Fewer than three of ten eighth graders could pass state tests in math and reading, and nearly half dropped out of school before graduating. Grant says he had once believed that it was possible to "save cities one school or neighbor-

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hood at a time," but he now concedes, "I was wrong."

In contrast to the Syracuse model, Raleigh and Wake County civic leaders took a very different path that helped the area grow into a thriving economic community hosting the nineteenth-largest public school system, bigger than districts in Baltimore, Milwaukee, Denver, Boston, San Francisco, Cleveland, Atlanta, Seattle, and Washington, D.C.

In the 1970s, Raleigh began to see white flight from city schools, as Syracuse did, but in 1976, the school boards of Raleigh and Wake County took the bold step of merging into a single Wake County school district. Business and civic leaders did not want Raleigh to become another Durham, with concentrated poverty and failing schools. They wanted a top-notch system, one in which all students would be prepared to work in a diverse global marketplace. Many whites were resistant, and some blacks thought it would be better to have control over a largely black city district, but civil rights and business leaders prevailed in their belief that an integrated metropolitan-wide system would be far better for the community as a whole.

More than sixty jurisdictions have sought to reduce concentrations of school poverty. These include not only liberal university towns like Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Berkeley, California, but places Sarah Palin calls "real America," like Omaha, Nebraska, and McKinney, Texas.

In the early 1980s, the merged district needed to find a way to fill many underutilized schools in downtown Raleigh. The superintendent, Walter Marks, decided to turn one-third of the system's schools, including virtually all of those located in Raleigh, into magnet schools. Special programs were offered—such as arts and theater, science and technology, and an International Baccalaureate curriculum—and within a single year downtown schools were full and racially balanced. Many had waiting lists. Over time, under-chosen schools were closed down, while popular programs were franchised. Today, roughly 40 percent of Wake's schools are magnets.

In 2000, under Superintendent Bill McNeal, Wake took the additional step of changing the emphasis of school integration from race to socioeconomic status. Under legal pressure to abandon the use of race in student assignment, the district adopted a goal that no school should have more than 40 percent of students who are eligible for subsidized lunch. This move was also consistent with a long line of academic literature—going back to the Coleman Report—that finds it is not the race of classmates that matters to educational achievement as much as their socioeconomic status. To take one example, it is a disadvantage to be in a school where classmates exhibit a high level of antisocial behavior, but that problem is far more closely associated with class than race. One study Grant cites finds that while blacks scored thirteen points higher on an antisocial index than whites, when one controls for social class, the black/white difference is reduced to three points. Meanwhile, poor students of all races scored twenty-one points higher than advantaged students.

In Wake County's economically integrated schools, teacher turnover is far lower than in Syracuse, and most teachers send their children to the district's public schools—something rarely done in Syracuse. Wake is able to attract high-quality staff and has the highest percentage of nationally board-certified teachers of any urban district in the country. Achievement and graduation rates of poor and minority students are higher in Wake County than in Syracuse, even though Syracuse spends several thousand dollars more per pupil than Wake. And most middle-class families are satisfied with the system: according to a 2006 poll, 94 percent of Wake County public school parents agreed with the statement, "My child's school provides a high-quality educational program."

Which is not to say that Raleigh's plan is perfect. On one level, it is a victim of its own success. The explosive growth in the district (from 53,000 students in 1976 to 134,000 in 2008) has caused it to reassign students frequently to new schools, angering parents. And growth has made compliance with the 40 percent free and reduced-price lunch cap difficult to meet. By 2008, 30 percent of Wake's 150 schools exceeded the 40 percent threshold, though few reach the intense concentrations of poverty found in many cities. The influx of former northeastern residents, some of whom are used to having the right to "purchase" an exclusive neighborhood public school, has complicated matters politically. But at the end of the day, it is hard to argue with Wake County's success. Grant finds that Wake students scored comparably to students in Syracuse's *suburbs*, even though Wake had four times the percentage of low-income students.

What is astounding—and profoundly disturbing—is that education reform at the national level has basically ignored the type of findings so powerfully outlined in *Hope and Despair in the American City*. In Washington, the "hot" education reforms include charter schools, teacher pay for performance, and community schools, like those found in the Harlem Children's Zone, which combine extended learning time with pre-K programs and social services. If implemented well, these policies can have important positive effects on students, but they tend to be limited because they accept as given the fountainhead of school inequality: economic school segregation. Much ink has been spilled, for example, on the Knowledge Is Power Program (KIPP) charter schools, which are indeed highly successful with the students who apply

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for, and stay in, their rigorous programs. But KIPP's success with a self-selected population that endures a difficult environment (60 percent dropped out of San Francisco–area KIPP schools) is far less impressive than efforts to educate low-income students living in an entire region. As Grant notes,

> *No city like Washington or Syracuse with high concentrations of schools in poverty has been able to replicate the success of KIPP and similar exceptional schools on a city-wide basis. By creating fairly balanced schools on a countywide basis, Wake County challenged the norm in all schools attended by poor students.*

Of course, the central reason that Wake County's success is ignored is that school integration is seen as politically toxic by the cognoscenti in Washington, D.C. But in fact, out in what Sarah Palin calls "real America," a number of jurisdictions have sought to reduce concentrations of school poverty. Today, more than sixty school districts use family income as a factor in assigning students to school. Most rely heavily on magnet schools in order to provide an incentive for integration. The list includes some predictable liberal university towns, like Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Berkeley, California, but it also includes places like Omaha, Nebraska, and McKinney, Texas.

"The choice between Raleigh and Syracuse," Grant concludes, "is the choice between hope and despair, the choice between one America and two Americas." In most cities, he writes, there is an "invisible wall" that keeps inner-city children separate from more affluent suburban kids. Most "throw money over the wall to children in a different caste of schools." If Barack Obama genuinely wants to provide equal educational opportunity for children, however, he needs to take steps to tear down that wall. WM

Blacks scored thirteen points higher on an antisocial index than whites. But when one controls for social class, the black/white difference is reduced to three points. Meanwhile, poor students of all races scored twenty-one points higher than advantaged students.

Richard D. Kahlenberg, a senior fellow at the Century Foundation, is the author of *All Together Now: Creating Middle-Class Schools Through Public School Choice*, and *Tough Liberal: Albert Shanker and the Battles Over Schools, Unions, Race, and Democracy*, newly out in paperback.

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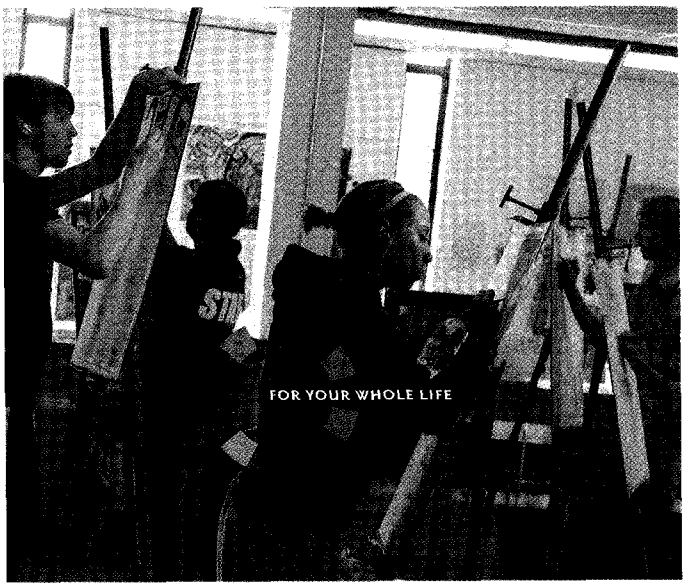

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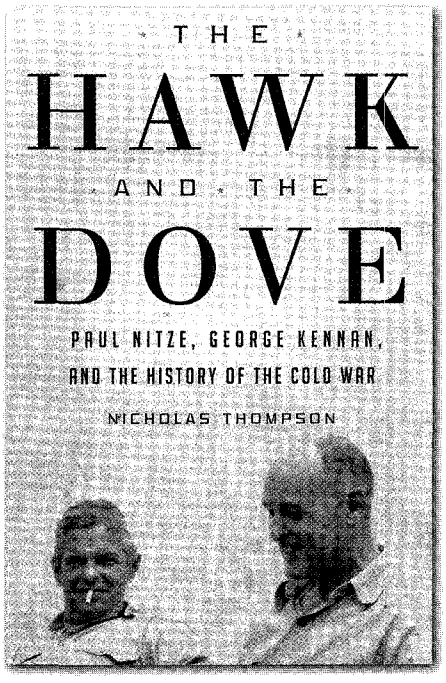

The Hawk and the Dove: Paul Nitze, George Kennan, and the History of the Cold War

by Nicholas Thompson
Henry Holt, 416 pp.

Mutually Assured Friendship

For half a century, Paul Nitze and George Kennan wrestled with the Cold War, and with each other.

By Gregg Herken

"Diplomatic history does not, in order to be history, have to be literature as well. But there is nothing that says it cannot be; and my ideal ... is to make it so," wrote George Kennan in 1980. History can also be biography, as this excellent book by Nicholas Thompson, an editor at *Wired* magazine, demonstrates. Thompson's dual subjects are George Kennan and Paul Nitze, arguably two of the most influential figures in the half-century-long confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union known as the Cold War. Kennan, a diplomat and scholar, was author of the containment doctrine that inspired and guided U.S. foreign policy from Truman to Reagan. Nitze, an investment banker and consummate Washington insider, translated Kennan's rather gauzy prescription for dealing with Soviet power into practical reality: for Nitze, it was the bald threat of superior military force that would keep the Russian bear in check.

Although the two men were part of the so-called "Georgetown set" that dominated the nation's capital in those days, they inhabited two different worlds. Kennan was the self-doubting intellectual, the nagging Jeremiah, the dove; Nitze was the decisive man of action, the self-professed "problem solver," the hawk.

But, as Thompson points out, the truth was more complex than that, as were the two men and their conjoined history. Kennan-the-dove once mused speculatively that dropping ten atomic bombs on targets in the USSR might prompt the Kremlin's leaders to surrender. Nitze-the-hawk decided to suppress the fact that Russians were flying the MiGs responsible for downing some American pilots during the Korean War, lest that revelation lead to a wider conflict. Significantly, both men promptly rejected the option of preventive war when it was raised in the early 1950s, vis à vis Russia, and again in 2003, over Iraq.

Kennan famously came to prominence in the winter of 1946, as the author of the Long Telegram, the 5,300-word warning to Washington of the Kremlin's expansive designs that he wrote while a foreign service officer at the U.S. embassy in Moscow. Kennan elaborated on that message the following year, in a *Foreign Affairs* article predicting that a "long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies" would so frustrate Stalin's grand strategy that the Soviet Union would either collapse as a result or would be so transformed in character as to cease to be a threat to the West. For a Truman administration belatedly awakening to the Soviet threat, Kennan's words became gospel. As he later wrote, "My reputation was made. My voice now carried."

Curiously, however, Kennan never explicitly defined *how* the U.S. should contain the Soviet Union. When pressed, he spoke vaguely of reliance on small, mobile military units, economic sanctions, and even "moral suasion." *That* task was eagerly

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embraced by Paul Nitze, who succeeded Kennan as head of the Policy Planning Staff, the State Department's incubator for ideas on how to run the new American imperium. Dismissed by his Foggy Bottom colleagues as a "Wall Street operator," Nitze had left a highly lucrative career at Dillon, Read, & Co. to direct the wartime U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey. While Kennan was pondering Soviet motives from Moscow, Nitze and his staff were measuring the depth of bomb craters left by the Allies' aerial assault on Germany and Japan. In contrast to Kennan's arm chair theorizing, Nitze boasted that he liked to "put calipers" on a problem, and solve it.

Kennan soon had cause to question his choice of successor. Returning briefly to the State Department following the outbreak of the Korean War, he ruefully observed "that my whole framework of thought ... was strange to Nitze, and that he would be apt to act on concepts of his own which differ from those I had put forward." Kennan's concerns were justified. As Nitze himself later boasted to a biographer, he "hijacked [Kennan's] Cold War policy of containment away from him."

Indeed, when Truman asked State for an opinion on whether to proceed with development of the hydrogen bomb, Kennan characteristically submitted a seventy-nine-page treatise opposing the weapon, citing passages from Shakespeare and the Bible, and even helpfully appended a draft speech for Truman to announce a unilateral moratorium on H-bomb research. In contrast, Nitze sent the president a brief memo with a handful of questions, arranged bullet-point style, laying out the case for the super-bomb. Truman went with Nitze.

For the next fifty years, Kennan and Nitze would be on opposite sides of a major divide in this country over the conduct of its foreign policy. As with the Cold War itself, at the center of their conflict was the hydrogen bomb. For Kennan, who had been appalled, in a postwar tour of Hamburg, by the destruction visited upon that city, reliance on the threat of nuclear annihilation to deter Soviet aggression was not only dangerous but a sign of intellectual bankruptcy:

> *Americans seem little able to accustom themselves to the thought that their security must rest on the* intentions, *rather than the* capabilities *of other nations and are drifting toward a morbid preoccupation with the fact that the Russians* could *drop atomic bombs on this country.*

Nitze, meanwhile, had carefully calculated the number of conventional bombs that it would have taken to wreak the same devastation as the atomic bomb upon Hiroshima, and concluded that a nuclear war could not only be fought, but won. What to Kennan was a "morbid preoccupation" was, for Nitze, the defining limits of a worldview.

Retreating to a kind of self-imposed exile at Princeton, Kennan assumed the role of dishonored prophet, issuing pronouncements criticizing U.S. policy toward Russia, opposing escalation of the Vietnam War, and, in the early 1980s, endorsing the nuclear freeze movement—all the while lamenting, in correspondence and in the pages of his private journal, that official Washington no longer listened. Periodically, he would return to the fray, becoming ambassador to Russia near the end of Truman's term and ambassador to Yugoslavia under Kennedy. But these forays never lasted long, and were usually brought to an end by the dour Princetonian's own dyspepsia. Thus, an ill-advised comment comparing Stalin's Russia to Hitler's Germany resulted in Kennan being kicked out of the Soviet Union, and an intemperate remark on Congress's "appalling ignorance" with regard to trade policy ended his usefulness in Belgrade.

During this same time, Nitze was enjoying his role as Gideon on the Cold War ramparts, warning that the Russians were—or at least *might be*—coming, especially if the U.S. allowed them to achieve nuclear superiority. In a variety of jobs through a succession of administrations—as secretary of the navy and deputy defense secretary under Kennedy and Johnson, and as a senior arms control negotiator for both Nixon and Reagan—Nitze played a critical part behind the scenes, even as his trumpet sounded the same shrill, monotonous note. In such a way, the "missile gap" followed the "bomber gap," which preceded the "year of maximum danger" and anticipated the "window of vulnerability." Presidents rapidly discovered that Nitze was more dangerous to them outside the government than in. In 1979, Carter could trace the demise of the SALT II treaty to his failure to offer Nitze the post of defense secretary at a get-acquainted meeting two years earlier in Plains. "Henry Kissinger we will have to stroke. Paul Nitze we will have to beat," a Carter aide had predicted. But, ultimately, it was Nitze who won.

Notwithstanding their positions on opposite sides of the barricades, Kennan and Nitze remained friends throughout. Thompson's book opens with Nitze's gracious toast on the occasion of his rival's eightieth birthday. His differences with Kennan, Nitze quipped, had "only been on matters of substance."

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The Hawk and the Dove does an inspired job of telling the story of the Cold War through the careers of two of its most interesting and important figures, who were not only present at the creation, but were each a witness—and, in Nitze's case, a participant—in its end. While never actually denying paternity, Kennan would always distance himself from the unruly youth that he believed containment had—under Nitze's fostering—become.

Yet on the eve of the new millennium, approaching their own end, the two found themselves on common ground concerning the very issue that had always divided them. In an October 1999 *New York Times* op-ed article, Nitze proposed that the U.S. "unilaterally get rid of our nuclear weapons." Kennan hid his astonishment in a grace note to Nitze, acknowledging that it was "a source of deep satisfaction to me to find the two of us, at our advanced ages, in complete accord on questions that have meant so much to each of us, even when we did not fully agree, in times gone by."

Impressively well researched and, overall, beautifully written, *The Hawk and the Dove* nonetheless leaves some important questions unaddressed, and hence unanswered. One wishes that Thompson—who is Nitze's grandson—would have tackled the matter of whether his grandfather actually believed that the Russians might one day sail missile-firing submarines up the St. Lawrence River into the Great Lakes, or simply spun out such fantastical scenarios in order to sell the Pentagon's weapons system du jour. Likewise, it would be interesting to know if the author shares the view of Kennan's critics that it was the containment doctrine, as much as the domino theory, that inexorably lured the United States down the long road that led into the jungles of Vietnam. WM

Gregg Herken is a professor of history at the University of California. He is writing a book on Washington, D.C.'s "Georgetown set" and its role in the Cold War.

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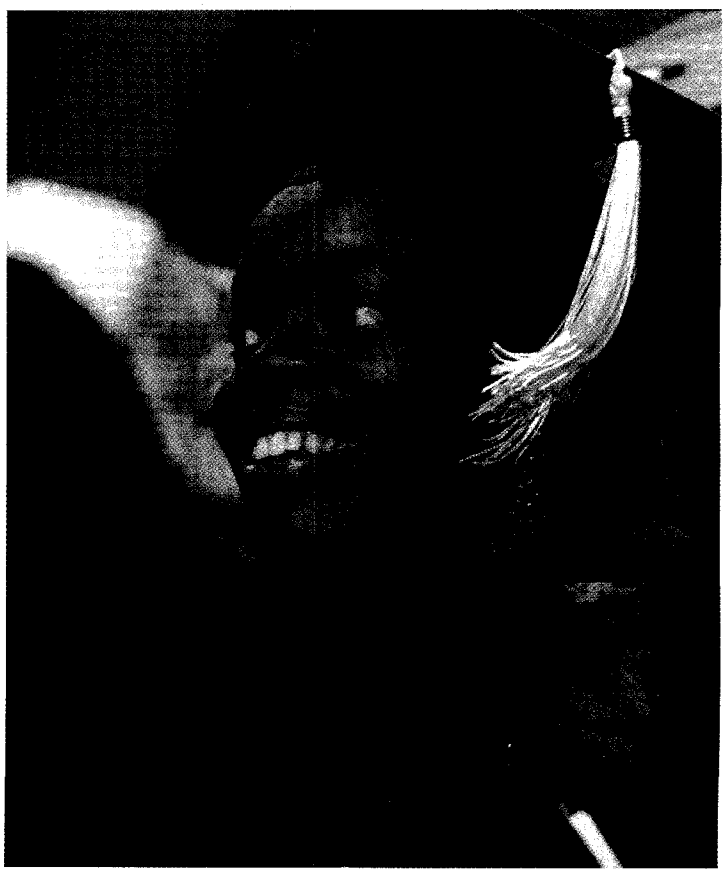

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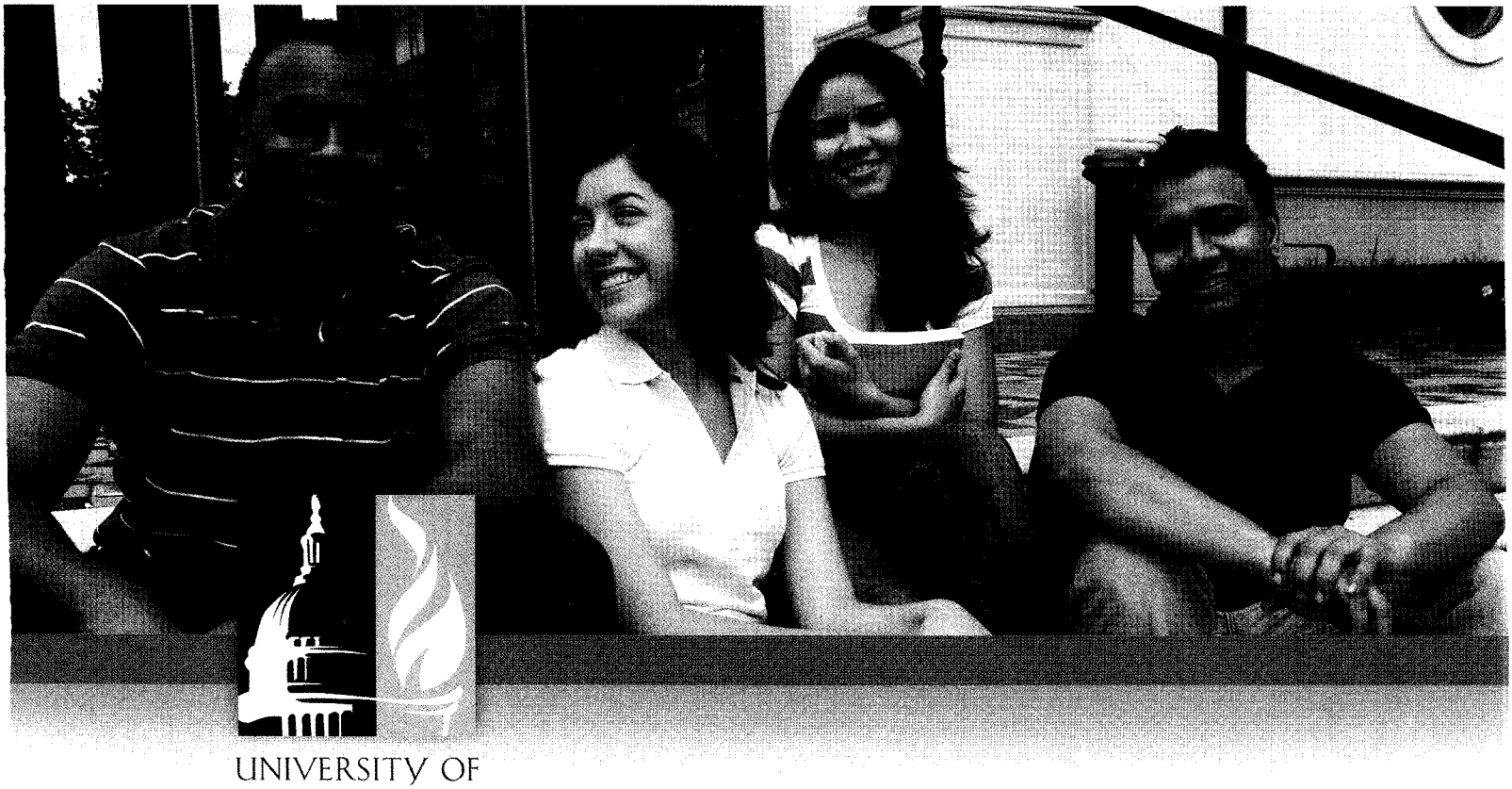

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